

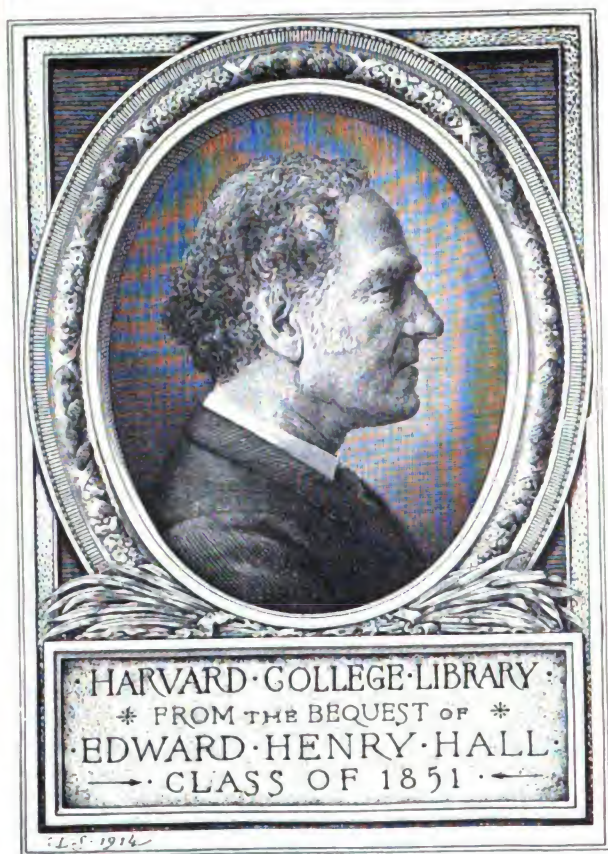
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A CRITICAL
ESSAY

ON THE
ANCIENT INHABITANTS

Of the *Northern Parts* of
BRITAIN, or *SCOTLAND*.

CONTAINING
An ACCOUNT of the *Romans*, of the *Britains*
betwixt the Walls, of the *Caledonians* or *Picts*,
and particularly of the *Scots*.

WITH
An APPENDIX of ancient MS. Pieces.

VOL. II.

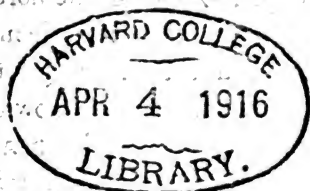
By THOMAS INNES, M. A.



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SECTION II.

An enquiry into the antiquity of the first settlement of the Scots in Ireland, and in the northern parts of Britain.

HAVING in the preceding section on the *Scots* considered their settlement and government in *Britain*, on the supposition of their having been, long before the incarnation, settled in *Ireland*; my design in this is to examine the truth of this ancient settlement of the *Scots* in *Ireland*, that being a necessary preliminary towards the discovery of the time of the first coming and settlement of the *Scots* in *Britain*, and of the beginning of their monarchy in the *Scottish* line in this island. This double enquiry shall make the subject of the two dissertations, into which I shall divide this last section.

IN the first dissertation, I shall enquire into the grounds of the remote antiquities of *Ireland*; and particularly into the time of the first settlement of the *Scots* in that island.

IN the second, after a short account of the writers in general, and of some historical monuments

of *Scotland*, I shall endeavour to fix the time of the first settlement, and of the beginning of the monarchy of the *Scots* in *Britain*.

DISSERTATION I.

On the accounts that the Irish give of the remote antiquities of Ireland, and of the first settlement of the Scots in that island.

IT is with very great reluctance that I enter upon this subject; which, if I could have avoided, I certainly had not meddled with it, but it being generally agreed on, that the *Scots* of *Britain* came in from *Ireland*, there was no treating of the subject, nor any possibility of fixing the time of their settlement in *Britain*, without first examining into the antiquity of their settlement in *Ireland*. And having ventured in this essay to call in question the common traditions of my own country, supported by the authority of all our modern historians, concerning the first forty kings, and other points of antiquity, it ought not to appear strange, that I take the like freedom with the settlement of the *Scots* in *Ireland*, especially since the discussion of this last is so necessary to give light into what concerns their settlement in *Britain*. But having in this enquiry into the remote antiquities of *Ireland*, nothing in my view but to endeavour to discover the truth of history and to separate what is uncertain and contested from what is more certain, and generally agreed

on; I think I may so much the more justly hope that none of the learned of the *Irish* nation will take offence at it, that my intention is to treat the subject with that moderation and candour that becomes a sincere enquirer after truth, without presuming to decide in so intricate and obscure questions as may be made about those remote antiquities: that being a task to which I must acknowledge I am very unequal, and which none but some of the learned natives, skilled in their ancient language, with the helps of the remains of what is more authentick in their history, could with any hopes of success undertake.

AND indeed I have often wondered, that among so many truly learned and capable men, who have distinguished themselves in all kinds of learning, that *Ireland* hath produced during the last, and in this age, none of them have ever applied to separate what is certain of their history, and grounded upon solid monuments of antiquity, written in times of light and learning, from what is uncertain, and hath no other foundation but the traditions or writings of their *Seanaebies* and bards, in order to give a true history of the country since the times of St. *Patrick* and king *Legaire*; both civil and sacred; whilst others, such as *Keating*, *O Flaherty*, &c. render all uncertain, by putting on an equal level, and delivering, and that on the sole credit of the bards, the accounts of their history from almost the deluge of *Noah*,

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with

with as much assurance as they do the transactions of *Ireland* after *St. Patrick's* time.

BUT in order to give a true history of *Ireland*, and for a solid foundation to it, the first thing to be done, were that according to the example of all countries of *Europe*, who pretend to have any ancient chronicles, annals, or other historical monuments, some of the learned men of *Ireland*, skilled in their ancient language, would publish, as all other nations have done, and are daily doing, the most authentick historical monuments of their country, I mean those chiefly which contain the transactions of *Ireland* since the time of *St. Patrick*; since which they had, without doubt not only the use of letters and learning; but in some ages, such as the seventh, eighth, and ninth, *Ireland* appears to have been more famous for learning and learned men, than most other nations; and by consequence, it is natural to expect that they should have had as good monuments of history, civil and ecclesiastical, as any other country. And though by the *Danish* invasions, and other accidents, many valuable pieces of that kind may have perished, there are, no doubt, still enough remaining to make some volumes of collections of historical monuments; such, among others, are the chronicles of *Tigernach*, the annals of *Ulster*, the synchronisms of *Flannus*, the annals of *Inisfall*, &c. and the loss which they (a) complain they

(1) Colgan. Præfat. Vit. Sanctorum Hybernix.

have already suffer'd of so many others, by different accidents, should be a new motive to engage them to publish what as yet remains, to hinder them from having the same fate. And I cannot but add, that it is extremely surprizing to see, that though there are very few nations that pretend to so ancient monuments of history, as the *Irish* do; yet they should be the only people in *Europe* that have never as yet published any original history or chronicle of their country, written before these two or three last ages: but leaving that to the consideration of the learned natives of *Ireland*, zealous for its honour, I return to the enquiry, into the remote antiquities of that island, and the time of the first settlement of the *Scots* in it.

THERE are two opposite opinions concerning the time of the first coming in, and settlement of the *Scots* in *Ireland*: the one is that of the generality of the modern *Irish* writers, who relying on the authority of their bards, seanachies, and poets, (which are but different names of the same kind of men) make no distinction betwixt the ancient inhabitants of *Ireland*, or *Milesians*, that came into it after the four first colonies, and the *Scots*; and pretend, that these *Milesians*, or *Milesian Scots*, came into *Ireland*, some say ten, some twelve, some fourteen centuries before the incarnation; and that at the same time they set up a monarchy, whereof *Heremon* son to *Milesius*, was the first king.

THE other opinion is that of *Camden*, and other learned men, who make a great distinction betwixt the ancient inhabitants of *Ireland* and the *Scots*: and as they are persuaded, that *Ireland* was first planted from *Britain* in the earliest times, so they hold that the *Scots* were not of the number of the ancient inhabitants of that island, but originally a foreign people, distinct from the ancient inhabitants, and who came not into it till after the times of the incarnation. And I myself have known some of the most learned and judicious of the *Irish* nation, that I ever was acquainted with, of the same opinion: and after all the enquiry I could make into this matter, by all the best authority and reasons I could discover, I cannot but be of the same sentiment, that the *Scots* were not of the number of the ancient inhabitants of *Ireland*, but a foreign people that came not into it till about the times of the incarnation, or after it, as I shall endeavour to shew in its proper place.

NOW because the greatest objection that is made against this opinion, of the *Scots* not being the ancient inhabitants of *Ireland*, nor the same with the *Milesians*, is drawn chiefly from the histories accompanied with chronologies, genealogies of the *Irish* kings, and great men of the *Milesian* race, continued down from *Milesius* till *St. Patrick's* time, and forwards, that have been published by *Keating*, *O Flaherty*, and other modern *Irish*

Iris writers, taken, as they tell us, from the poems and other pretended ancient writings of their bards and seanachies: I shall therefore begin by enquiring into the grounds of the accounts of these remote antiquities delivered by them; but I shall do it, as I said before, with the reservedness that becomes a candid enquirer, and content myself to propose the objections and difficulties that occur to me about the authority of them, and the reasons that hinder me to give credit to them, after I shall, in the first place, for greater clearness, have set down certain heads that generally all agree upon, as to the first plantation and ancient inhabitants of *Ireland*.

THAT *Ireland* was inhabited in the earliest times there is no doubt: and I think it can be as little doubted, that the first inhabitants of it came from *Britain* in its neighbourhood, as those of *Britain* came from the nearest coasts of the *Gauls*, and of other countries of the continent opposite to it. For thus, from place to place, the world was at first planted by degrees after the deluge: men as they multiplied, being obliged to march forward to the new habitations in the neighbourhood, and therefore to advance not only on the same continent over rivers, but to transport themselves over the narrow passages of seas into the neighbouring islands or lands; but at first, and in the earliest times, for want of skill of navigation, only to such lands or islands as they could discern

from their own coasts, before they durst venture upon sea-voyages out of the sight of land.

THIS, and the conformity of languages and customs betwixt the *British* and *Irish* in ancient times, makes it much more (a) probable, that the first inhabitants of *Ireland* came from *Britain*, than from *Spain*, or any other great distance: and these same reasons prove, that the first and most ancient inhabitants of *Ireland* must have come from the northern parts of *Britain*, that is, either from the point of land called the *Mull of Galloway*, or from *Cantyre* by the lesser islands, that lie betwixt it and *Ireland*, all in sight one of another; and the more remote of them in sight of *Ireland*, and at no great distance from it. And in effect we are told, that the *Irish* seanachies (b) bring some of their first colonies after the deluge from the north of *Britain*, that being the nearest coast. In process of time, when men became more used to navigation, 'tis not unlike there might come to *Ireland* new colonies from *Spain*, as well as from the vast continent of the north.

I conceive also, that it cannot be doubted, but that before the times of the incarnation, there was some kind of government in *Ireland*; and by consequence, as the most ancient of all governments, and that of which a rude people is only capable,

(a) Camden Britan. edit. Lond. in 4to. Tom. II. p. 256.

(b) Flaherty Ogygia — Keating, &c.

is that of a king, or a single chief or leader, that kind of government was in use in *Ireland*; not that they had one monarch of all the island, but many little kings, as we see there were in *Britain*, and meet with among all nations in the earliest times, and among the people found out in later ages at their first discovery. There were probably also among them, as among the *Gauls* and *Germans*, some uncertain traditions of more memorable transactions. All this may be allowed to the ancient inhabitants of *Ireland*, before the times of christianity, or to any other uncultivated nation, before they had policy or the use of letters among them; provided always that no particulars be alledged to have been preserved of the dates or circumstances of old transactions, no more than any sure series or succession of kings, or of their descents or genealogies, at any distance of time, past the memory of men, before the introduction of the use of letters.

As to the settlement of the *Scots* in *Ireland*, 'tis generally agreed on also, that they were already come into that island, and settled in the first ages of christianity, and perhaps a little before, or at least about these times, as I shall have occasion to observe: though (a) *Camden* places the coming in of the *Scots* into *Ireland* later, because there is no word of them in ancient writers, till the second or third age.

(a) *Camden Britan. edit. Lond. 4to. p. 759.*

THIS being premised, I shall in this first dissertation propose, 1°. The difficulties that I meet with, or objections that may be made against the remote antiquities of *Ireland*, containing the different reasons and authorities that hinder learned men from giving credit to them; and that seem rather to prove that, as the learned (a) *Wareus* says, those circumstantial accounts, which their modern writers give of their ancient history, are the workmanship or invention of writers of later ages. 2°. I shall endeavour to shew, that though we should grant that these remote antiquities, and even what is related of the *Milesian* race in general were probable, that would not prove that these *Milesians* were properly the *Scots*; but that it seems rather certain, that the *Scots* were not settled in *Ireland* till about the times of the incarnation, or even after it.

(a) *Wareus de Antiq. Hybern. Præf. p. 1.*

C H A P. I.

Containing the difficulties and doubts which occur in the particular accounts that the modern Irish writers, such as Keating, OFlaherty, and others give on the credit of their Bards and Scanachies, of the remote or high antiquities of Ireland.

I MEAN by the remote or high antiquities of *Ireland*, as I have already observed, all those particular and circumstantiated details that these, and other *Irish* writers have set down, not only of the first plantations and four first colonies after the flood of *Noah*, but in particular of that of the *Milesians* coming in from *Spain* to *Ireland*, and there setting up a monarchy above ten or twelve centuries before the incarnation; with the details they give of the names, genealogies, chronology, successions, reigns, and actions of those *Irish* monarchs, from *Heremon* their first king, till *Leogaire*, who lived in the fifth century, when *St. Patrick* preached the gospel in that island.

My intention is to propose in this chapter the difficulties and doubts that occur in these remote antiquities, and the reasons which seem to render the opinion of *Waræus*, and of other learned men, very

very probable; who pretend that all, or most of these particular accounts, especially of what past in *Ireland* before the incarnation, are the inventions of writers of posterior ages.

IN order to put this matter in a better light, I shall reduce these doubts or difficulties, and reasons to the following heads.

THE first occasion of doubt is the particular detail of these antiquities, such as their modern authors assure us are contained in what they call their most ancient writers.

THE second arises from the account that they give us, of the means by which their antiquities were preserved and conveyed down; and of the ancient polity and literature of the *Irish*.

3°. SOME testimonies of the most ancient writers that mention the *Irish*, and of the most learned among the modern; by which it appears, that the inhabitants of *Ireland* were unpolished, barbarous, and without the use of letters in the first ages of christianity.

4°. THAT in all appearance the use of letters was not introduced into *Ireland*, till the preaching of the gospel among them in the fifth century of christianity.

5°. THAT

5°. THAT even supposing, against what hath been said, that the *Irish* had received the use of letters before the fifth age, the character of the authors of their remote antiquities, to wit, of the bards, suffices to raise doubts against what they might have written.

6°. THE uncertainty of the remote antiquities of *Ireland*, appears by the several alterations that have been made in them at different times.

7°. THEIR continuing to avoid the publication of their pretended original ancient histories, chronicles, poems, &c. in literal and faithful transactions, such as they are, without adding or retrenching, gives new grounds to suspect the credit of them.

ART. I. *A short account of the Irish remote antiquities.*

THE first difficulty against the credit of these antiquities, is the detail in which they are delivered, with particular facts, names of persons and places, and dates of time, all pretended to be taken from what they esteem their best records of ancient history. For from this we may easily learn the characters of the writers of these pretended ancient monuments, and be able to judge what
.. credit

credit is due to men, that had the confidence to deliver the most remote antiquities in a circumstantiated detail; that none, except the sacred writers, inspired by God, ever pretended to. Hence (a) *Camden* says pleasantly enough of them, *That if what the Irish writers relate of their antiquities be true, those of all other nations, if compared with them, are but new, and as of yesterday. For they tell us that Cæsarea, niece to Noah, &c.*

THE *Irish* writers begin their history, not only from the coming of *Cæsarea* (*Ceasrach*) niece to *Noah*, into *Ireland*, before the deluge, which is all the antiquity that *Camden* remarks; but their most approved writers, such as *Leabhuir Dromnasnachta*, or book with the white cover, inform us, according to (b) *Keating*, that *Cain's* three daughters had long before *Noah* taken possession of *Ireland*; and that the eldest of these ladies, called *Bamba*, gave her name to that island. It is true, *Keating* in relating this, and such other anti-diluvian accounts of *Ireland*, treats them as fa-

(a) *Camden* *Hybernia*, p. 32. edit. *Amsterdam*. Si verum sit quod *Hybernici* tradunt historici non immerito hæc *Insula* *Ogygia*, i. e. perantiqua *Plutarcho* dicta fuit. A profundissima enim antiquitatis memoria historias suas auspicantur, adeo ut præ illis omnis omnium Gentium antiquitas sit novitas & infantia. *Cæsaream* enim quidam *Noachi* neptim ante-diluvium hanc incoluisse tradunt, &c.

(b) *Keating*, p. 17. edit. *London*, 1723. from *Leabhuir Dromnasnachta*.

bulous; but a late *Irish* (a) writer, assuring us that the *Leabhair Dromnasnachta*, is quoted by all their antiquaries, as a most ancient and very authentick piece of antiquity, written in the time of their *Pagan* ancestors; it is no rash judgment to suspect the credit of the ordinary writers of their antiquities, since one of *their most ancient* and *authentick* books contains; even in *Keating's* judgment, the most *fabulous* and *romantick relations*.

THE (b) story of *Ceasfrach*, niece to *Noah*, though related by the *Psaltar Casbel*, together with the other particulars of the anti-diluvian inhabitants of *Ireland*, is rejected, says *Keating*, by their best antiquaries, and with reason: but what becomes then of the credit of *Psaltar Casbel*, and by consequence of that of *Psaltar Teambrach*, or *Tara*, whereof we are (c) told, *Psaltar Casbel* was a transcript made by authority.

BUT the *Irish* (d) writers are much more particular in their accounts of the first four colonies that came to *Ireland* after the deluge. The first colony was that of *Partholan*, who landed at *Inverskene* on a *Tuesday*, the fourteenth of the

(a) D. Kennedy's genealogy, *pref.* pag. 25.

(b) Keating, p. 20.

(c) D. Ken. *pref.* pag. 18, 19.

(d) Keating, from p. 23. to p. 53. and O. Flaherty, *Ogyg.* from p. 163. to p. 182.

moon, in *May* just 312 years, according to *Flaberty*, after the deluge: the rest of the particulars may be seen at length in *Keating* and *O Flaberty*; as also those of the second colony of *Nemedius* and his sons, of the *Clanbolg*, who made the third colony; and of the fourth, called *Tuadadanan*. What is most partiular is, that of all these colonies (whereof the latest, according to *Flaberty*, came to *Ireland* before the taking of *Troy*) these late *Irish* writers confidently give us an historical detail, with as particular an enumeration of facts, as if they had been transactions of three or four ages ago. In a word, they tell us the names of the chief leaders of each colony, the precise time and place of their landing in *Ireland*; the names, succession, and reigns of their kings, and their memorable actions, each one with its date; the precise time each *Lough* broke out in *Ireland*, (a circumstance not to be matched in other histories) the genealogies of their great men down from *Noah*; the year in which each colony expired, or was destroyed; the precise number of years that *Ireland* was desert, betwixt the *Exit* of one colony, and the coming in of the following one; and this when there was no body there, neither bard nor other, to mark them down: and all this account of these four colonies above two thousand years before the incarnation: of which the detail may be seen in *Keating* and *Flaberty* above quoted, and said to be taken from their *psaltars*.

Pfaltars, Poets, and other surest antiquaries, not as yet published.

As to the *Milesian* colony, they pretend to give of it as yet more circumstantial accounts: and that not only from their settlement in *Spain*, and next in *Ireland*; but of all the pilgrimages of their predecessors, down from *Fenius Farsaidh* (who, they say, was great grandson to *Japhet*, one of *Noah's* sons) of his son *Niul*, and all his posterity; whose circuits, twice backward and forward, from *Scythia* to *Egypt*, from thence to *Spain*, and up and down thro' *Europe*, *Asia*, and *Africa*, may be seen at large in (a) *Keating*, taken, as he assures us, from the best *Irish* antiquaries.

THEY (b) assure us, that *Heremon*, with the *Milesian* colony, arrived in *Ireland* precisely the first day of *May*, on a *Thursday*, and the seventh of the moon: they give us account of all the leaders of that colony; of the harbours where each of them landed; of the *Loughs* that broke out the night of their landing. In a word, from *Heremon* the first king of the *Milesians*, they give a distinct series, or chronological history of all their kings, down till *Leogare* (who began his reign *Anno Christi* 427. and during whose time the christian faith was preached in *Ireland* by *St. Patrick*) with the number, names, genealogies, chronology of

(a) *Keating*, from pag. 57. to pag. 89.

(b) O *Flaherty*, pag. 84, 85, 182, &c.

their kings, the years of their reigns, their chief battles and actions, the manner and time of each of their deaths: and all this they deliver from about two thousand years before the incarnation with an equal assurance, as they do the history of *Ireland* since *St. Patrick*.

THIS prospect alone of the *Irish* antiquities suffices to breed violent suspicions in all impartial persons conversant in true ancient history; that the whole is an invention of later ages: and these suspicions are still increased by the detailed accounts of these antiquities, that *Keating* himself (as he is lately published) hath, the most warily he could, selected out of their more ancient writers, as more likely and less absurd than the most of what they contain: and especially if it be considered that they have no other vouchers for the *Milesian* antiquities; but those very writers who recount with an equal confidence the stories of the peopling of *Ireland* before the deluge, as they do those after: so that even *Keating* himself is forced to abandon them in this, tho' they be their writers of the first rate, such as (a) *Psaltar Cashel*, the (b) book with the white cover, and their poets.

(a) V. *Keating*, p. 20.

(b) V. *Keating*, p. 17.

ART.

ART. II. *The second objection drawn from the means by which the Irish pretend their high antiquities were preserved and conveyed down; and of their ancient literature and polity, before the times of christianity.*

As all ancient histories depend upon the credit of their vouchers, so, besides other qualities, the more the transactions related in a history are ancient and extraordinary, the more ancient must also be the vouchers that attest them, and of a more extraordinary character. Hence the *Irish Story-tellers*, that relate the story of the ante-diluvian inhabitants of *Ireland*, furnish us with ante-diluvian authors, and tell us of four of those ancient inhabitants that lived before and after the deluge, as *Keating* says some ancient MSS. of *Ireland* record: but since *Keating* informs us, that these ante-diluvian authors, with their stories, are rejected by their best antiquaries, I shall pass them over, and come to what they relate seriously, as the true account of the antiquity of letters and learning among their predecessors.

As the accounts of their antiquities far surpassed those of all other nations, except what is recorded in the scriptures: so their bards, as if they had had it in their choice when to begin the literature among the *Irish* and their predecessors, thought fit to fix on the highest antiquity, and at

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the very origine of the different languages soon after the flood of *Noah* : and the following instances of it are seriously related by those that they esteem their most genuine antiquaries, and received by *Keating*, and others of their modern writers.

(a) THEY tell us then 1°. That one *Fenius Farsaidh*, great-grand-child to *Japhet* *Noah's* son, and predecessor of the *Milesians*, set up a school of learning in the plains of *Senaar*, about one hundred and fifty years after the deluge ; and having two tutors under him, *Gaodel* and *Jar*, he there formed the *Irish* tongue, and first invented the *Hebrew*, *Greek*, *Latin*, and *Irish* letters. A particular detail of this school may be seen in *Keating* at length, from pag. 59. to pag. 64.

BUT what at first would seem very surprizing is, that this story of *Fenius Farsaidh's* having formed the first *Hebrew*, *Greek*, and *Latin* alphabets, with the *Beth-luis-nion*, an *Ogum*, or *Irish* alphabet, is seriously related as an historical fact by (b) *Toland*, another *Irish* writer, so famous for his incredulity in regard of other facts, the best attested that ever were recorded. It is true, *Toland* endeavours to mend the matter ; and being sensible of the absurdity of this *Fenius's* having formed the *Greek* and *Latin* alphabets, so many ages before the

(a) *Keating*, p. 59, &c.

(b) *Toland's* posthumous works, Tom. I. pag. 38.

Greeks and Latins were a people, he reforms the bard *Forchern's* story of it (according to the usual custom of posterior bards, who, as they happened to live in times of more light and learning, reformed the traditions of their ignorant predecessors) and would have us believe that *Forchern's* meaning was only that *Fenius invented the first letters, in imitation of which the alphabets of these nations were made.* And doth not the giving credit even to that, on the bare testimony of a bard, whose absurdities he is forced to explain away, seem at first very surprizing in a person of so noted incredulity as *Toland*.

BUT the surprize will be less, when it is considered that *Toland's* incredulity was chiefly in regard of revealed facts, or the objects of faith: for it being a property of faith, according to the (a) apostle, *to cast down all imaginations or reasonings, and every thing that exalts itself against the knowledge of God, and to bring into captivity every thought to the obedience of Christ*; this seems an intolerable yoke to men of *Toland's* principles, there being nothing more opposite to that unlimited liberty of *Free-thinking*, upon which he chiefly valued himself: whereas all that could raise a sublime notion of the engine of meer man, without any extraordinary assistance of Almighty God, served admirably to the purpose of *Free-thinkers*:

(a) 11 Cor. x. 5.

and nothing appearing a stronger evidence of the natural extent of man's capacity, than to find out merely, by his own application and study, so surprising an art as that of painting (if I may so say) or of rendering sensible and lasting, by figures or characters, bare thoughts or sounds of articulate words, so as to convey them to any distance of time or place: the story of *Fenius Farsaidh*'s having made this wonderful discovery, and being the first inventor of letters, was more easily swallowed down by *Toland*, though he had no other ground to believe it, nor that there ever was such a man as *Fenius Farsaidh* in being, but the relation of this *Forchbern*, a bard: and though he himself (a) acknowledges, that the bards in general were a set of men *both partial and mercenary, to a scandalous degree.*

BESIDES, that *Toland*, who set up so much for a man versed in all kind of literature, could not, I suppose, be ignorant, that the most judicious among ancient writers, after *Eupolemus*, quoted by *Clement of Alexandria* and *Eusebius*, looked upon the invention of alphabetical letters as having been at first communicated by God himself to *Moses* and the *Israelites*, and from them derived to the *Phœnicians*, from whom the *Greeks* at first received it.

(a) *Toland*, *ibid.* pag. 50.

A new proof that the invention of letters was no ancients than *Moses*; and that the *Pentateuch* is the most ancient book in the world, may be drawn from the ignorance we are in of all past transactions, not only before *Moses's* time (except what is contained in the *Pentateuch*) but of all certainty of history before the siege of *Troy*, about three hundred years after *Moses*; which answers the time that *Cadmus* (who is believed to be contemporary to king *David*) is supposed to have brought the first letters from *Phœnicia* to *Greece*. And since it cannot be doubted of, but that the desire to perpetuate their memory was no less natural and vehement in men before *Moses's* time, than after it, how comes it that we have no remains of any certain account of what past in these times, besides what is in the scripture?

I do not pretend here to enter upon *Toland's* principles as to what concerns religion, but leave that to the divines, who have abundantly discussed his principles on those matters: I am only concerned at present in historical facts, and cannot but observe the strange bent of the reasonings of this person, who pretends to be wholly governed by reason, and yet could believe, or seem to believe, that *Fenius Farſaid* was the first inventor of letters, without any other ground but that of the bards, whom he looked upon, as we have seen, as venal souls; and this in opposition to the solid ar-

guments, which prove the first use of letters to have been a particular gift of Almighty God to mankind, in the person of *Moses*,

BUT it is very likely, that the chief reason that determined *Toland* to vouch the story of *Fenius*, and other bardish inventions of the same kind, that suppose the ancient use of letters among the *Irish*, was to put in credit the pretended writings of the ancient *Irish Druids* in times of *paganism*, in order to make a handle of them to rally and run down what he calls *priestcraft*. And so we shall meet him again more than once chiming in with the bards, for the ancient use of letters among the *Irish*.

(a) THE second instance of learning among the *Irish* is placed about an age after the settlement of the *Milesians* in *Ireland*, to wit, that twelve hundred years before the incarnation, they had public professors of learning in king *Tigernma's* time; and those already in so great esteem, that they were allowed the precedence next to their kings, and only one colour less in their robes: this was about one hundred years before the taking of *Troy*, and four hundred years before the first *Olympiad*, the two most ancient *Epochs* of profane history. So it is no wonder that a late *Irish* (b) writer falls in a rapture at the thought of such a distinguish-

(a) Keating, p. 127. D. Ken. p. 20. *pref.*

(b) D. Ken. Gen. *pref.* p. 21.

ing character of his country. Could a nation, says he, be called barbarous, that, so many ages before Christ, set such a value upon learning? &c.

THE third proof of ancient literature among the *Irish*, and of the care they had of preserving the memory of past transactions, is according to their modern writers, and (a) *Toland* among others, that about nine hundred sixty-seven years before the birth of Christ, king *Eocha Ollam-Fodla*, order'd all the transactions of his royal ancestors, from *Fenius Forfaisidh* to his own time, to be review'd; and in order to digest them, he appointed a committee of nine, or an assembly of three kings, three druids, and three poets or bards, to meet every third year at a parliament at *Tara*, to examine and digest them for the benefit of posterity. An account of this parliament and assemblies at *Tara* may be seen at length in *Keating*, from pag. 132, to pag. 143. where the curious reader will be, no doubt, surprized to find, among other things, an order, discipline, politeness, and especially a progress of learning; but above all, a singular care of the annals and histories among the *Irish*, about two hundred years before the founding of *Rome*, that will scarce be met with in most other nations in the most polished ages.

(a) *Toland's hist. of Druids*, p. 50.

(b) *Keating*, p. 132.

I omit other instances that they (a) give of the progress and encouragement of learning in *Ireland*, in times, when other nations were generally in ignorance and barbarity, and refer my reader to their own writers, but I cannot forbear to mention that, in order to confirm the matter, and to canonize these *Pagan* antiquities ; we (b) are told, that they were judged of that importance by St. *Patrick* apostle of *Ireland*, that contrary to the custom of all other apostolical preachers, amidst his labours in the gospel, he thought it became him to list himself in the committee of nine, with two other bishops, amidst their bards and kings, and digest the historical and genealogical collections of their *Pagan* antiquities.

THE first thing that is to be remarked on these high pretensions to so surprizingly antient literature and polity is, that the invention proves that the *Irish* were conscious to themselves, that an early literature and polity were absolutely necessary to gain credit to their high antiquities : so that if they were deprived of that support, it would seem, that even in their own judgment the credit of their antiquities would be quite sunk.

(a) Keating, p. 147. cap. 217, 252. D. Ken. pref. pag. 19, 20, &c.

(b) Keating, p. 335.

(c) D. Ken. pref. pag. 118.

AND

AND yet in the second place it is evident, that all those instances that they give of the early settlement of learning and polity among them, are yet more incredible if they be well considered, and more liable to exceptions, and so stand as yet more in need of new proofs to support them, than those very antiquities which they are brought to support and authorize, and indeed serve only to prove the fertility of the bards imaginations in invention.

FOR however the high antiquities of *Ireland*, or the detailed accounts they give of the settlement and history of their several ancient colonies, and among others of that of the *Milesians*, must be all looked upon absolutely as uncertain; whilst hitherto no ancient writer appears within two thousand years of the time, to attest or support them; yet they have at least this advantage, above the accounts that the *Irish* give in so many instances of their having been so anciently polished with learning, that these instances of learning being equally destitute of all credible testimonies from ancient authors or records to support them, can be more plainly shewn to be groundless, as well by the concurrent testimonies of ancient writers, and by the most learned among the modern, that have examined into them, as by the terms that the *Irish* make use of in learning, and by the proper characters of their letters, such as have hitherto been

been published. By all which it appears, that *Ireland*, far from having the advantage over the *Greeks* and *Romans*, of a more early settlement of learning and polity, as a late *Irish* (a) writer boasts; on the contrary, it remained much longer in ignorance, and without the use of letters, than most of the other western countries, who acknowledged they were beholden for their being civilized to the *Romans*.

ART. III. *That the inhabitants of Ireland were still unpolished and barbarous; and by consequence, without the use of letters in the first ages of christianity, according to all the accounts we have of them from the most ancient writers, and in the opinion of the most learned among the modern.*

THE only credible accounts we can have of any country, in ancient times, is from those ancient writers that describe the several nations as they came to be known, and had taken their accounts from these on the place, or in the neighbourhood. We have nothing of *Ireland* in the more ancient geographers, but its bare situation or position. *Strabo* (who wrote under *Augustus* and *Tiberius*) is the first that gives some particulars of the inhabitants of that island. The first account he gives of their manners and customs in his time, is just the same that the first discoverers of *America*, and of the remotest coasts of *Africa*, give of these new-found

(a) Ken. genal. pref. p. 26.

inhabitants in their natural state; to wit, *that they were barbarous and wild men.* Those, says (a) *Strabo*, that now-a-days make a survey of the different countries of the world, find nothing to relate of any country beyond Ireland, which lies to the north, and near Britain, and is inhabited by men entirely wild. (ἀγρίων τελέως αἰθρώπων.)

THE same author speaking afterwards of the *Britains*, tells us, that in his time the *Britans* were, as to their manners and way of living, partly like to the inhabitants of the *Gauls*, partly more rude and barbarous than the *Gauls*. And then adds, (b) As to *Ireland*, all I know of certainty is, that its inhabitants are more barbarous and savage (ἀγριώτεροι) than those of *Britain*; and by consequence, of these three nations the *Gauls* or *Celts*, the *Britains* and the *Irish*, these last were, in *Strabo's* time, reputed the most barbarous. He adds some instances of their barbarous customs; but as to those I shall not insist upon them, because *Strabo* says he had them not well enough attested.

THE next ancient writer from whom we have account of the manners of the *Irish* in those times, is (c) *Pomponius Mela*, who wrote not long after *Strabo* in the first age of christianity; and gives

(a) *Strabo*, p. 114, 115.

(b) *Strabo*, l. 4. p. 251.

(c) *Pomp. Mela*, c. 3. c. 6.

this account of them; *The inhabitants of Ireland are unpolished, barbarous and ignorant of all virtues.* Thus we see *Ireland* still esteemed unpolished and barbarous, and that more than a thousand years after the times that the modern writers tell us of its being so civilized.

ALL that they (a) answer to this is, that *Strabo* or *Mela* had no opportunities to be informed of the condition and manners of the *Irish*: but for this I refer them to a modern writer (b) of their own, who assures us, after *Tacitus* (c) in the life of *Agricola*, that the ports of *Ireland* were better known, and more frequented by the merchants, than those of *Britain*; as being much the more numerous, and the more safe, and perhaps not inferior to any in *Europe*. Now *Strabo* and *Mela* had a fair occasion to be informed of the state of *Ireland*, by the resort of the *Britains* to *Rome*, who could not but know the condition of *Ireland* in their neighbourhood, as well as others that frequented their ports: and *Strabo* makes particular mention of the *Britains* coming to *Rome*. Now it doth not seem likely, that *Strabo* and *Mela* having such opportunities, could be so grossly mistaken, as to impute so great barbarity to *Ireland* in the first age of christianity, if it had been then, and for so long a tract of time before, polished with

(a) Pref. to Keating, p. 2, 3.

(b) Ken. pref. p. 27.

(c) Tacit. p. 233.

arts and sciences, as the late *Irish* writers pretend it was; for it cannot be doubted, but those *Roman* writers, having for their peculiar design in their books, to give an account of the several foreign countries, and to remark what was more rare and singular in them, would use their utmost diligence to be rightly informed.

BUT what shall be said of *Tacitus's* account of the manners of the *Irish* in his time; for he is the next author that mentions them. He had his informations from *Agricola's* his father-in-law; and *Agricola* had his account of *Ireland* from no less an author than one of the *Irish* lesser kings; and yet far from mentioning polity or learning among the *Irish*, *Tacitus* after describing the barbarous *Britains*, such the *Romans* esteemed those who had not been cultivated as yet by their discipline, as an unpolished and rude people, *dispersi & rudes*, tells (a) us the *Irish* in their manners were much the same as these *Britains*. *Tacitus* adds to this; that he had often heard from *Agricola*, that with one single legion, and a few auxiliaries, *Ireland* might have been easily conquered and subjected to the *Roman* empire. This shews how mean an opinion *Agricola* had of the inhabitants of *Ireland*, in comparison of those of *Caledonia*, or the north of *Britain*, who at that very time, under their leader *Galgacus*, gave work to all the *Roman* legions and

(a) *Ingenia cultusque hominum [in Hybernia] non multum a Britannia differunt. Tacit. p. 233.*

auxiliaries in *Britain*: not but *Ireland* was probably much more populous than the north of *Britain*, but because the inhabitants of *Ireland* being more rude and unpolished, were more ignorant of the military art, and of all parts of polity and discipline.

WE have no more ancient writers that speak of the manners of the *Irish*, before they received christianity in the fifth age, except *Julius Solinus*, who, by some, is placed in the second age after the incarnation; by others in the third: and *Solinus's* account of the manners of the *Irish* in those days, agrees with that of *Strabo* and *Mela*. The manners of the *Irish*, says (a) *Solinus*, are inhuman and rude. He adds to their being inhospitable, a new character which no former writer had given them, to wit, that of their being warlike: in all appearance, because by this time (the third age) the *Scots* were settled among them, and began to make inroads on *Britain*, tho' their name was not perhaps yet known at *Rome*; where it is thought *Solinus* wrote. What he adds of their making no difference betwixt right and wrong, is a clear proof of their being as yet entirely barbarous, and a full conviction of the fable of (b) *Ugane-more's*

(a) *Hybernia inhumana ritu incolarum aspera. Gens inhospita & bellicosa; fas & nefas eodem animo ducunt. Solin. c. 36. p. 62. edit. Basil. 1538.*

(b) *Ken. geneal. pref. p. 22.*

laws, pretended to have been made seven or eight hundred years before *Solinus*.

THUS I have gone through all I could meet with, of ancient writers, that give any account of the state of *Ireland*, before christianity was planted in it in the fifth age: and by all of them it appears, it was still a barbarous and uncultivated nation. I come now to examine the opinion of the learned in modern times, since the revival of the study of critical learning; and we shall find, that they are no less unanimous than the ancients, in asserting, that the *Irish* of old were uncultivated by polity or letters.

CAMDEN, an author, in the judgment of (a) one of the latest abettors of the *Irish* antiquities, of great esteem and reputation, and which makes more to our purpose, one, says this writer, who had taken a strict, particular and full information of the *Irish* antiquities; *Camden* (b), I say, after having told us that he could not think that the *Romans* ever entered *Ireland*, adds, that

(a) *Ken. general. pref. p. 6.*

(b) *Animam vix inducere possum ut hanc regionem [Hyberniam] in Romanorum potestatem ullo tempore concessisse credam. Factum sane felixque Hyberniz fuisset, si concessisset. certe barbariem exuisset: ubicunque enim Romani victores erant, victos humanitate excoluerunt. Nec sane alibi per Europam, humanitatis, litterarum & elegantiz cultus, nisi ubi illi imperarunt. *Camd. Hybernia, p. 33. Amstelod. edit. 1740. is fol. p. 33.**

it had been a happy thing for Ireland, that the Romans had subdued it; for that had been, says he, a sure means to civilize it, and deliver it from barbarity: since wherever the Romans became masters of any nation, they cultivated and civilized it. Nor was there any where in Europe any knowledge of polity, of civilized manners, or of letters, but where the Romans governed. That is to say, in plain terms, that since the Romans never ruled in Ireland, there was neither polished manners, nor knowledge of letters there in ancient times. In short, Camden looks upon the barbarity and ignorance of the Irish in ancient times, as a thing so certain, that he makes use of that as a proof to shew that the Romans had never governed in that island. Accordingly, Camden (a) looks upon the Irish antiquities, and in particular on the Scots being settled in Ireland before the incarnation, as fabulous; and is of opinion, that the name of the Scots was not heard of till the third age at soonest.

BEFORE I proceed to the next authority, I cannot but observe, that it is no small argument against the credit of the high antiquities, and ancient learning of Ireland, that one so well versed in all kind of antiquities, and so perfectly acquainted with all the remains of the writers of Ireland, as the famous archbishop Usher was, and an Irishman by birth, hath never said one word of

(a) Camden. Britan. p. 50, 51. edit. Amstelod.

their high antiquities, or of their ancient monarchs before christianity, neither in his *Annales Sacri*, where he sets down the origins and successions of all ancient certain monarchies and commonwealths, nor even in his antiquities of the churches of *Britain* and *Ireland*, where he gives us at length all that he could find of ancient stories concerning the *Scots* in *Ireland* or in *Britain*; nor in any other book I could ever meet with. But he was too wise to hazard the reputation he had justly acquired among the learned, of one of the best antiquaries of his time, by countenancing any such uncertain stories as the high antiquities of *Ireland*. And far from believing the *Scots* were the ancient inhabitants of that island, he (a) joins in with *Camden*'s opinion, and proves that the name of *Scots* was not heard of till some ages after the incarnation.

THE next testimony I shall bring is, as yet, more evident, and of greater weight, than that of *Camden*. It is that of sir *James Ware*, or *Wareus*, one of the most learned and best skilled in the *Irish* antiquities, and at the same time one of the most diligent enquirers after them that *Ireland* hath produced these many years: as appears not only by his books published, *De Antiquitatibus Hyberniæ* (b), and *De Episcopis Hyberniæ* (c); but

(a) *Usser. Antiq. Britan.* p. 38c. fol. Lond. 1687.

(b) *Edit. Lond.* in 8vo. A. D. 1658.

(c) *Edit. Dublin* A. D. 1665.

more by his work, *De Scriptoribus Hybernæ* (a); and most of all by a most curious collection he made of all he could find of *Irish* MSS. relating to their history or antiquities: in the search of which it appears, he spared neither pains nor expence. The catalogue of his MSS. was first printed by itself, in *quarto*; and again in *folio*, and may be seen in the great collection of the MSS. of *England* and *Ireland*, printed at *Oxford*; and the MSS. themselves are now in the possession of the duke of *Chandos*.

THE judgment of a gentleman of so great a capacity, as *Wareus*, and so versed in the antiquities of his country, will be, no doubt, of incomparably greater weight in this debate, with impartial and learned men, than the accounts that are given of these remote antiquities by more credulous writers copying one after another, and oft-times at second hand; and who appear to have had neither the opportunities which this learned man had, nor his skill in discerning authentick monuments of history from the inventions of bards.

THE first place where *Wareus* gives his opinion of the *Irish* writers, and of the learning and antiquities of *Ireland* before the conversion of *Ireland* to christianity, is in the preface of his book *De Antiquitatibus Hybernæ*, in these words:

(a) Edit. Dublin. A. D. 1639.

(a) It is most certain, that there remains very little knowledge of what passed in Ireland before the preaching of the gospel there : neither am I ignorant that the most part of what is delivered by writers, concerning those ancient times before St. Patrick's coming to Ireland, is rejected by several learned men as fictions and fables. And it is to be remarked, that almost all the descriptions or particular accounts that are extant, of matters transacted in these ancient times, are of the fabrick or invention of late ages. Therefore, in this enquiry I have spoken very sparingly of them, &c.

IN this passage of *Warcus* it may be remarked, 1°. That he acknowledges, several learned men rejected the remote antiquities of *Ireland* as fictions and fables : and accordingly he owns, 2°. himself, that most of all the accounts we have of these ancient times, are the productions of modern writers ; and by consequence, that there remains extreme little knowledge of what passed in *Ireland* before *St. Patrick* preached the gospel there in the fifth age : for this reason he begins his accounts of the

(a) Perexiguam superesse notitiam rerum in Hybernia gestarum ante exortam ibi evangelii auroram, liquido constat. Neque me latet a viris nonnullis doctis pleraque quæ de antiquioribus illis temporibus ante S. Patricij in Hyberniam adventum traduntur, tanquam figmenta esse explosa. Notandum quidem descriptiones fere omnium quæ de illis temporibus (antiquioribus dico) extant, opera esse posteriorum sæculorum. Idcirco in hac indagine de iis admodum parce locutus sum. *War. de antiq. præf. p. 1.*

Irish kings only at *Loegare*, who lived in *St. Patrick's* time; not perhaps that he believed absolutely that all that was said of their former kings was entirely false and fabulous, but because he was persuaded (a) *that the most part of all that is delivered concerning them, was either fables, or so mixed with fables and anachronisms, that there was no means left to find out truth.*

THE second place where *Waraeus's* opinion of the ancient learning of *Ireland* appears, is in his book (b) *De Scriptoribus Hybernice*; of the writers of *Ireland*. Certainly a person of *Waraeus's* erudition, of his skill, and diligence to be informed of all that concerned *Ireland*, could not fail to have met with, or heard of what was most ancient, most curious, and most valuable on the subject of which he treats: and his zeal for his country, as well as the design of his book, and his own reputation, equally required that he should set down all he could find of their ancient writers, worth the taking notice of, or that deserved any credit. And yet after all his searches, it appears that he could find no writer of the general history or antiquities of *Ireland*, worth the naming, more ancient than the *Psaltair. Cashel*, written

(a) Ad prædecesores Loegarii quod attinet, eos certe consilio omisi, quia pleraque quæ de iis traduntur (ut quod, sentio dicam) vel fabulæ sunt, vel fabulis & anachronismis mire admixta. *War. de antiq. Hybern. c. 4. p. 20.*

(b) Edit. Dublin. A. D. 1639.

in the tenth age, as he (a) says in this book; but by what *Waræus* himself quotes from this *Psaltair* elsewhere (b), it must have either been written only in the eleventh age, or had additions made to it in that age. However, till this *Psaltair Cassel*, in all *Waræus's* account of the *Irish* writers, where he passes not over the meanest biographers, there is nothing like a history of the antiquities of *Ireland*; for as to the *Liber Cuana*, he only mentions it from the *Ulster* annals.

3°. *WARÆUS's* judgment of the learning and polity of *Ireland*, in ancient times, doth plainly appear by many other passages of his aforesaid treatise of their antiquities; as in particular, in the fifth chapter, where he treats designedly of the ancient schools of *Ireland*, where he shews (c) indeed that schools and learning flourished in *Ireland* since the planting of christianity there; but doth not so much as insinuate, that there ever had been any such thing as a school, college, professor, or any learning, or even the use of letters in *Ireland*, (d) till the *Irish* were taught the *Alphabet*: by their apostle *St. Patrick*; as we shall see presently. But what confirms this matter, as to *Waræus's* opinion of the barbarous state in which *Ireland*

(a) Lib. i. c. 10.

(b) War. de præsul. Hybern. p. 10, 11.

(c) War. de antiq. Hyber. c. 15. p. 74.

(d) War. de scriptor. Hyber. l. 2. c. 1. p. 103.

was in ancient times, (a) *Warcus* joins issue with *Camden*, and tells us, *that it had been happy for Ireland, that it had been subdued by the Romans; for by that means it had been sooner delivered from its barbarousness.*

WE may now, I think, conclude, that by the joint testimonies of the most ancient authors, who mention the state of *Ireland* before it received the gospel, and of the most learned among modern writers, who treat of its ancient state, it is certain that *Ireland* was as unpolished and barbarous as other northern countries, and without the use of letters, till it received them with christianity in the fifth age. But this will yet farther appear, by what we have to say in the next article.

ART. IV. *That in all appearance the use of letters was not introduced into Ireland, till the preaching of the gospel among them in the fifth century of christianity.*

THAT the *Irish* received the first use of letters with the preaching of the gospel, is proved by *Warcus*, from the authority of (b) *Nennius*, a

(a) Et ego quidem *Camdeno* assentior, quod felix faustumque Hybernæ fuisset, si in Romanorum potestatem concessisset, nam citius tunc barbariem exuisset. *War. Antiq. Hybern.* c. 20. p. 103.

(b) S. Patricius scripsit Abietoria 365, & eo amplius numero. Ecclesias quoque eod. numero fundavit. *Nennius*, c. 59. p. 113. edit. Oxon. Gale.

Writer

writer of the ninth age, compared with the most ancient life we have of St. *Patrick*, by *Tirechanus*, who, as (a) *Waræus* supposes, lived in the seventh age. *Nennius* says that St. *Patrick*, whilst he preached the gospel in *Ireland*, wrote above three hundred and sixty A, B, C's, or alphabets. *Nennius* calls them *Abgetoria*, or *Abietoria*. That by these were meant alphabets, for the use of the new converts in *Ireland*, is plainly shewn by *Waræus*, from the aforesaid life of St. *Patrick* by *Tirechanus*. These are the words of *Waræus*: [*Tirechanus*, an ancient writer of St. *Patrick*'s life, not yet published, explains to us, in the following citations compared together, what is meant by the word *Abgetoria*. St. *Patrick*, says *Tirechan*, baptized men daily, and taught, or read to them letters or *Abgetories*; and again, he wrote elements or letters for the use of *Cerpanus*: likewise, after he had baptized one *Macerca*, he wrote elements or letters for him, and blessed him, &c. and having baptized one *Hina*, he wrote for him *Abgetories*, and blessed him with the blessing of a bishop. By all this I think it is certain, says (b) *Waræus*, that by the word *Abgetoria* is meant the alphabet, or first elements of letters, which St. *Patrick* wrote and taught his new converts in *Ireland*.]

(a) War. de scriptor. Hyber. l. 2. c. 1. p. 103.

(b) Unde constat, opinor, Nennii Abgetoria significare, alphabetum sive elementa quæ scripsit & docuit S. Patricius. War. de scriptor. Hyber. p. 103.

THE learned *Du Cange* (a) in his glossary shews, by many authorities, that the authors of the middle ages made use of the words *Abgatorium*, *Abcturium*, *Abecenarium*, *Abecedarium*, made up of the three first letters of the alphabet A, B, C, to express it; each one according to his way of pronouncing. So the *Irish*, who pronounce the C as a K, or G, called the alphabet *Abgatorium*, or *Abketorium*.

FROM the authorities brought by *Wareus*, the learned *Bollandus* (b) having concluded naturally, that the *Irish* had not the use of letters till they were taught it by St. *Patrick*, and confirmed his opinion with good reasons: (c) *Flaherty* falls very warmly upon him, as if he had been the first that had advanced that opinion, without reflecting that *Camden* had declared for it long before; and that Sir *James Ware*, from whom *Bollandus* had it, proves it by the most ancient legend they have of St. *Patrick's* life. As to *Flaherty's* proofs for the ancient use of letters among the *Irish*, we shall by and by consider them. Mean time, to confirm *Bollandus*, and these other learned mens opinion, I shall farther add one proof, which I conceive will appear of weight with impartial readers.

(a) *Du Cange* Glossar. tom. 1. on the words *Abcturum*, *Abgatoria*, &c.

(b) *A&S. Sanctor. Bollandi*, tom. 2. Martij ad diem 17. in Not. ad vitam S. *Patricii*.

(c) *Ogyg. Domest.* c. 30. p. 214.

I desire then it may be considered, that in the same manner, as tho' we had no other argument from ancient history, to prove that the *Latins* or *Romans* had the first use and knowledge of letters and sciences from the *Greeks*, than the bare names of which the *Latins* make use in letters, arts and sciences, and by which they express them: that alone would abundantly suffice to demonstrate, that the *Latins* had originally the knowledge of letters, arts and sciences, from the *Greeks*, since they still express them in *Greek* terms, and have no other proper expression for them; as *Grammatica*, *Rhetorica*, *Philosophia*, *Logica*, *Mathematica*, *Politica*, *Chirurgia*, *Physica*, &c.

IN like manner, altho' we had no other proof to shew that the *Irish* had the use of letters originally from the *Latins*, or from those that spoke the *Latin* tongue, but the proper terms by which the *Irish* in their vulgar language express them, v. g. *a letter*, *a book*, *to read*, *to write*, &c. This would alone suffice to convince all unprejudiced persons, that the *Irish* had the first use of letters, and were taught to read and write originally by the *Latins*, or by those that spoke that language. Now it being agreed on, that the *Romans* never entered *Ireland*, the *Irish* could not have learned these terms immediately from them, but must needs have been taught them, with the things meant by them, by *St. Patrick*, and the other

ther first preachers of the gospel; who all of them knowing the *Latin* tongue, and finding no expressions or terms in the *Irish* language for letters, book, reading, writing, &c. as being all things of which the *Irish* had never any use before, they naturally expressed them in *Latin* terms, the only ones they had for them themselves, giving them only an *Irish* inflexion: so they called *Littera*, *Lietar*; *Liber*, *Leabar*; *Lego*, *Leagmi*; *Scribo*, *Scriabmi*; *Leagham*, to read, *Scriobam*, to write, &c. in the same manner as they were forced to make use of *Latin* terms with an *Irish* inflexion: for all sacred things belonging to christianity, whercof the first preachers of christianity brought in the first use to *Ireland*; such as *Criofd*, *Christus*; *Crosh*, *Crux*; *Eagluish*, *Ecclesia*; *Ceile*, *Cella*; *Espic* or *Easbug*, *Episcopus*; *Baisteadh*, *Baptisma*; and the like.

WE come now to examine the proofs that *Flaberty* brings, of the ancient use of letters among the *Irish*, before they received christianity. The first is, that they have or had many books, poems, and histories (a), written in their *Pagan* ancestors times. But all that is nothing but to beg the question, and to suppose what is under debate, till these books, or some of them, be published to the world, with fair literal translations and documents to prove their authority and age, and to shew

(a) *Ogygia Domestica*, c. 30.

how, and where they have been preserved during so many ages.

2°. *FLAHERTY*, for a proof that the *Irish* had not the use of letters from the *Latins*, and by consequence that their letters were much ancients than the preaching of the gospel among them, and peculiar to the *Irish*, tells us, that their letters differed from those of the *Latins*, and all others in name, order, character, number, and pronunciation and force: to shew this, he gives from the book of *Lecan*, (an *Irish* MS. about three hundred years old) the copy of the *Latin* alphabet, inverted and digested in a new arbitrary order, with the names of trees attributed to each letter, beginning with the three letters B, L, N; and from thence called *Beth-luis-nion*. And this he pretends was the ancient *Irish* alphabet, before they had communication with the *Latins* and *Romans*.

BUT when *Flaherty* sets about to prove the antiquity of this *Beth-luis-nion*, he brings for proofs stories more incredible than the facts themselves, which he intends to prove by them. *Flaherty* tells us then the story we made mention of already from *Keating* and *Toland*: that the first author of this alphabet was *Fenius-Farsaidh*, who composed, says *Flaherty*, the alphabets of the Hebrews, Greeks and Latins; the *Bethluisnion*, and the *Ogum*. This *Fenius Farsaidh* (as we said before) was, according

to the *Irish Seanachies*, great grand-child to *Jafeth*, son to *Noah*, and lived in *Noah's* own time, about one hundred years after the deluge. For this piece of antiquity, *Flaberty* (a) quotes one *Forcherne* an *Irish* poet, who, as a late *Irish* (b) writer informs us, lived one hundred years before the incarnation. Now, not to ask how this poet *Forcherne*, or *Feirtcherne*, as old as he is placed, knew so distinctly things past above two thousand years before the time in which he is classed: it may at least be enquired, by what spirit of prophecy this *Fenius Farsaidh* composed the *Greek* alphabets so long before *Cecrops* and *Cadmus*, and that of the *Romans*, some 1700 years before the *Romans* were a people. And will the authority of *Lecan*, a MS. of about three hundred years, convince the learned of so rare a discovery, as that of an *Irish* writer one hundred years before the birth of Christ?

BUT to let that paradox pass, there needs no great skill of the *Irish* language, to shew that the *Beth-luis-nion* is nothing else but an invention of some of the *Irish Seanachies*; who, since they received the use of letters, have put the *Latin* alphabet into a new arbitrary order, and assigned to each letter a name of some tree; and that this was not the genuine alphabet of the *Irish* in an-
 cients.

(a) Ogyg. Domest. p. 221.

(b) D. Ken. genal. p. 29.

ent times, or peculiar to them; but a bare inversion of the *Latin* alphabet.

FOR, 1°. The genuine *Irish* alphabet consists only of eighteen letters; for so (a) many only they make use of in that tongue, viz. A, B, C, D, E, F, G, H, I, L, M, N, O, P, R, S, T, U; whereas in *Flaherty's Beth-luis-nion* there are twenty-six letters, that is, eight supernumerary, viz. Q, X, Y, Z, *oi*, *io*, *ng*, and *ea*: of these eight there are four which are never used in the genuine *Irish*, viz. Q, X, Y and Z; at least in such *Irish* books or MSS. as I could hitherto ever meet with, or hear of: but they are in use in the *Latin* tongue, and with the other eighteen letters make up the *Latin* alphabet: which therefore the *Irish* bard must have had before him when he invented the *Beth-luis-nion*. As to the syllables *oi*, *io*, *ea*, and double letter *ng*, which are the other four letters in the *Beth-luis-nion*, they have no one proper character in the *Irish*, distinct from the common alphabet, but are express'd by two of the usual letters of it; and nothing but meer fancy could have placed them in this new alphabet as distinct letters from the other eighteen. So, I think, it is plain that this *Beth-luis-nion* was neither the genuine *Irish* alphabet, nor was in use among them till after the times of christianity, when they received the use of the *Latin* letters, whereof this is but a bare transposition.

(a) *Irish Gram.* p. 299. *Archæolog. Britan Edit.* Lhugd.

As to the names of trees attributed to each letter, it seems visibly the work of meer fancy, without any reason or motive, there being no resemblance in the character of these letters to these trees, from whence this bard hath named them: whereas in the languages where the names of the letters are significative, as generally those of the *Hebrew*, the thing meant by these letters hath often some resemblance to the figure of the letter. And as for the term *Feadha, Woods*, which they gave to this alphabet, it was natural to call by the name of a forest or wood; an alphabet whereof each letter was metamorphosed into a tree.

ANOTHER proof which the *Irish* modern writers bring for the antiquity of their letters, is from the form of their characters, as being peculiar to the *Irish* (a), and not agreeing with the Greek or Latin characters, or perhaps any other now in the world. But such arguments as these are only fit to impose upon those that never saw any *Latin* books or characters, but in vulgar print; and never had occasion to see any MS. but *Irish*: for if they had seen any ancient *Latin* MSS. or characters, they would have in the first place found, by perusing those of the sixth, seventh, eighth, and following ages, down to the times of printing, as great differences betwixt the figures of letters, and form of the writing in MSS. of all countries, and the com-

(a) D. Ken. pref. p. 27.

mon print, as betwixt the usual characters in printed books, and those of the *Irish*; and yet originally all of them derived from the ancient *Roman* or *Latin* characters or letters.

IN the second place, the inspection of old *Latin* MSS. or charters will furnish new proofs to demonstrate, that the *Irish* had their letters originally from the *Latins*, or those that used the *Latin* characters; for all the characters of the *Irish* letters, (without excepting the *Saxon* (a) *f, g, r, s*, which seem more extraordinary to vulgar readers), are generally to be met with in the same form in ancient MSS. and charters, not only of *Britain*, but none of them but are in MSS. of other foreign countries, who had nothing to do with *Ireland*. And in many countries, where no body doubts they had the first use of letters from the *Latins*, the characters of old MSS. differ much more from the vulgar printed characters of the *Latin* than the *Irish* do. Such are the *Merovingian* and *Longobardick* characters: for a proof of this I refer the reader to the schemes of characters, and of old writ, which he will find in the learned *F. Mabillon's* book, *De Re Diplomatica*, in case he have not the opportunity to inspect *Latin* MSS. where he will generally find, even in MSS. of the twelfth, thirteenth, and fourteenth ages,

(a) *x, z, n, r.*

G g

much

much the same characters, or forms of letters, that are made use of in the *Irish* tongue; and little or no difference, but in the forms of abbreviations: for which, not only the people of different languages, but every different writer, may invent such characters, or forms of contractions, as he fancies will most abridge.

THE same thing may be said as to the notes for writing secrets, called by the *Irish* *O-gum*; of which *Waræus* says he had some copies; and one *Donald Forbis* mentions others: for nobody doubts but the *Irish* had their notes or cyphers for writing short hand, and keeping their secrets; especially the *Druids*, for preserving from the knowledge of christians the secret of their profane mysteries, made use, no doubt, of secret characters or letters, from the time that once the use of letters was introduced in *Ireland*. All other nations, and every private man, may have the same, for keeping secrets, and those entirely different from their usual letters: such among the *Romans* were the *Notæ Tironis*, whereof a specimen may be seen in *F. Mabillon's* diplomaticks. *Trithemius* also hath written a book on the subject, *De Steganographia*: so I do not well conceive for what this serves towards proving the antiquity of the *Irish* letters; or that they were not originally the same as the *Roman* or *Latin* character. Since *Waræus*, who is brought in to prove that

that the *Irish* had such characters, (a) tells us, that the *Ogum* did not contain the *Irish* vulgar character, but a hidden way of writing for preserving their secrets.

AND thus far as to the arguments brought by *Flaberty*, and other modern *Irish* writers, against the opinion of the learned *Bollandus*, concerning the ancient use of letters in *Ireland*; with which subject, tho' (b) *Flaberty* fills up about thirty pages of his *Ogygia*; yet the far greatest part is spent in useless flourishes on the origine of letters in general, and on the use and new order of the *Irish* new invention of *Bethluision*, there being little in his book, besides what we have mentioned, that looks like proofs of their having had the use of letters before christianity, unless we call proofs citations of legends of *St. Patrick's* life, written long after his time.

AFTER all, I do not pretend that no private person among the *Irish* had the use of letters before the coming in of *St. Patrick*, and the preaching of the gospel to them: for it may have very well happened, that some of the *Irish*, before that time, passing over to *Britain*, or other parts of the *Roman* empire, where the use of letters was

(a) Præter characteres vulgares utebantur etiam veteres Hyberni variis occultis scribendi formulis, seu artificiiis *Ogum* dictis, quibus secreta sua scribebant. *War. antiq. Hyb. cap. 2. pag. 12.*

(b) *Ogyg. domest. from p. 214 to p. 245.*

common, might have *learned to read and write*. It might also have happened that the *Druids*, who were the magicians of these times, might have had certain hieroglyphick characters to express their diabolical mysteries; and that the remains of those are what *Toland* and others make such a noise about. But if the *Irish* had any distinct character or form of alphabetical letters different from those which we have above mentioned, and which were introduced to *Ireland* by *St. Patrick*, how comes it that all this time, especially within these last fifty or sixty years, that the matter hath been agitated, and the dispute warm about it, none of them have ever published any specimen of these peculiar *Irish* letters, or at least an alphabet of them: such as *F. Mabillon* hath given of all ancient forms of letters, and *Dr. Hickes* more particularly of the *Runick*, and other northern characters?

WHAT I designed to shew in this paragraph is, that the use of letters was not ancient among the *Irish*, that they had it from the *Romans*, or those that spoke the *Latin* tongue: and that it was so very rare, if at all, in *Ireland*, till after the preaching of the gospel, that it could not be properly said to have been received in that nation till then; no more than it can be properly said that christianity was received there before *St. Patrick*; though it is not unlikely that some private persons might have been taught the gospel, either at home or in other countries, and believed in *Christ* before the preaching of *St. Patrick*. Now

Now if the use of letters was not received in *Ireland* till the coming of this saint, which was during the reign of king *Leogaire*; how was it possible that any certain account of history of the former ages could have been preserved? Accordingly the more famous and authentick chronicles or annals of *Ireland*, that have hitherto appeared, tho' never as yet printed, generally begin the series and chronology of their kings, no higher than the reign of this king *Leogaire*, and about the time of *St. Patrick*. Such are the annals of *Ulster*, whereof there is a fair copy, with several other MSS. relating to *Ireland*, in the library of his grace the duke of *Chandos*, who was pleased to do me the honour to grant me access to it: these annals which are in *Irish* character begin only at the year of our Lord 444. In the same library are the annals of *Tigernach*: these indeed want some leaves in the beginning and elsewhere, and begin only about the time of *Alexander the Great*: but till *St. Patrick's* time they treat chiefly of the general history of the world, and contain but very little of *Ireland*: the annals of *Innisfall* are likewise in the same library, and contain a short account of the history of the world in general, and very little of *Ireland*, till *A. D.* 430. where the author properly begins a chronicle of *Ireland*, fol. 9. after these words in *Latin*, *Hic finit parva præscriptio de principio mundi*; and then follows a little after, *Loaire Mac-Neel reg-*

navit an. 24, &c. And thenceforward contains a short chronicle of *Ireland*, continued down until about the year 1318. These three chronicles are written in *Irish* character, and in the *Irish* language, intermixed with *Latin*: they were formerly collected, with many other valuable MSS. relating to *Ireland*, by that learned antiquarian Sir *James Ware*, and came afterwards into the possession, first of the earl of *Clarendon*, and then of his grace the duke of *Chandos*. A catalogue of them, as they were in Sir *James Ware*'s time, 'is printed at *Oxford*, in the great collection of the MSS. of *England* and *Ireland*. And lest I may be mistaken in this account of these chronicles for want of the *Irish* language, and having as yet had only a transient inspection of them, I shall here set (a) down the more perfect description given of them in the printed catalogue, by one skilled in the *Irish* tongue, and who had perused

(a) Vol. II. *Annales Ultonienses*. Codex antiquissimus sermone partim Hybernico, partim Latino charactere Hybernico scriptus incipit *A. D.* 444. Explicit *A. D.* 1041. quo obiit *Rodericus Cassidæus Archidiaconus Clocheren* qui scripsit dictorum annalium partem posteriorem.

Vol. III. *Annales Tigernachi Eirenachi* (juxta *Waræum*) *Clonmacnaisensis*, mutili in initio. Auctor historiam universalem attingit usque ad adventum *S. Patricii*, inde vero res Hybernicas usque ad *A. D.* 1088, quo obiit, describit. Liber caractere & lingua Hybernica, &c.

Vol. XXVI. *Annales Cœnobii Innisfallensis*, quibus auctor leviter attingit historiam universalem a mundo condito usque ad *A. D.* 430. Inde res Hybernicas usque ad *A. D.* 1215. quo vixit, satis accuratè describit.

them

them at leisure. These annals or chronicles are the most considerable monuments of *Irish* history that Sir *James Ware*, in the thorough search which he made after such pieces in *Ireland*, could meet with, most of them beginning no higher the regular succession of the *Irish* kings, and the chronological history of *Ireland*, than about king *Leogaire's* time. This observation, together with the fabulous narrations that he observed in those MSS. pieces that pretended to give accounts of the history of that island, and of the succession of their kings in the more ancient times, were, no doubt, the motives that determined this learned antiquarian to begin the chronological account of the *Irish* kings no higher than king *Leogaire*, and *St. Patrick's* time: and he himself, as we have already observed, gives us this remarkable (a) reason why he began no sooner; that the most part of the accounts of their kings, and other *Irish* matters preceding king *Leogaire's* time, were either *fabulous*, or *strangely mixed with fables and anachronisms*.

I shall not here repeat the solid difficulties that the learned *Dr. Stillingfleet*, in his *Antiquities of the British churches*, raises against the accounts contained in the *Irish* writers of their remote antiquities, but refer the reader to the places which I have here (b) quoted; and in particular to the ob-

(a) Vel fabulæ sunt vel fabulis & anachronismis mirè admixta. *Warens de antiq. Hybern. cap. 4. p. 20.*

(b) *Stillingfleet antiq. p. 266, 267, &c.*

servations which he makes in his (a) *preface*, against their calculating so precisely by the year of the world, particular facts, whilst it appears that they could have no certain rules for regulating chronological dates in ancient times.

BUT I cannot but set down here another objection that presents itself to me, and appears very considerable against the chronological part of their remote antiquities; and seems evidently to prove, that they have been all composed in much later times, and only after the *Irish* had communication or intercourse with those that spoke the *Latin* tongue.

FOR in the same manner, as it hath been already observed, that the proper names of which the *Irish*, in their language, make use to express *letters, a book, to read, to write*, being all derived from the *Latin*, prove that they had the use of letters from those that spoke the *Latin* tongue: so also the only proper names that the *Irish* in their language give to each number, being manifestly derived from the same numerical names of the *Latin*, and only altered in conformity to the *Irish* idiom, seem equally to prove, that they had not the art of calculation or numbering, much less that of chronology, till they received it by communication with those that spoke the *Latin* tongue.

(a) *Stillingfleet, pref. p. 33, 34.*

THUS

THUS from *Unus* is derived *aon*, pronounced *eun*, from *Duo*, *Do*, or *Dha*, from *Tres tri*; from *quatuor*, *ceathar*, or *ceitre*; for having no *Q* in their language, they make use of *C*, which is always pronounced as *K* instead of *Q*; from *Quinque*, *Cuige*, or *Coige*; the *C* as we said, or the *G* standing for *Q*, and the *n* being sunk to render the pronunciation more smooth; *Se* or *She* from *Sex*, dropping the *x*, which is not in use in their language; *Seacht* for *Sept* or *Septem*, the *pt* being altered to *cht*, more usual in their tongue; *Ocht* or *Ochd*, is sensibly from *Octo*; and so is *Noi* or *Naoi* from *Novem*; and yet more, *Deic* from *Decem*. *Fichit* or *Fichid*, instead of *vighit* from *Viginti*, by the usual alteration of the letters *V* into *F*, and *T* into *D*, as *Toland* (a) observes, as well as of *G* into *C*; and the *n* being sunk to render the pronunciation more smooth, as we have seen it is in *Cuige* for *Cuinge*: so it is likewise in *Ceud* or *Cead*, instead of *Cent*, from *Centum*: for the *D* and *T* are reciprocal, as hath been already observed: the last number *Mil.* is yet more sensibly from the *Latin Mille*: and all the rest of the intermediate numbers are compounded, or derived from these primitive ones.

Now it is not easily to be conceived, how the *Irish* bards could preserve any chronological ac-

(a) *Toland's hist. of Druids*, pag. 29. note 36.

count before they received the use of counting or numbering, and by consequence that of proper names for the numbers, from one to a thousand ; for I suppose there was no *Ogum* for the numbers, as they pretend there was for the *Alphabet* ; and the natural way of counting by the ten fingers, or by heaps of little stones, might serve indeed well enough for the necessary uses of life in barbarous times, but could be of little or no service towards regulating chronology. So that all those precise calculations of years, of months, of the days of the month, and of the moon, in regulating their remote antiquities ; and in particular, of the arrival of the *Milefians* in *Ireland*, as it is set down by *O Flaherty* in his *Ogygia*, will appear rather a new objection, than a proof of the verity of their ancient history, to men versed in antiquity, who have observed the great variety of calculation of time among the ancients, and the disputes among the learned moderns concerning these matters.

ALL that we have said of the use of numbers, and calculation, derived from the *Latins*, serves to confirm *Waræus's* (a) judgment of the remote antiquities of *Ireland*, that they were most part drawn up in much later times : this is also confirmed by the mention that is made of *Adam*, *Cain*, *Noah*, the deluge, *Moses*, *Pharaoh*, &c. in their poems, psaltars, and in what they call their

(a) Waræus de antiq. Hybern. Pref. p. I.

most ancient and most authentick monuments of history : for how could they come by the knowledge of these names, but by the holy scriptures, or by communication with those that had read them ? And how could they receive either that knowledge, or have that communication, before the christian religion was preached in *Ireland* ?

BEFORE I conclude this subject, I cannot but take notice of what *Toland* says farther of the ancient use of letters in *Ireland*. A great part of what he hath on this head being taken from *Keating* or *Flaherty*, or from the same sources, hath been already considered. He makes a long excursion upon a passage of *Lucian*, by which it appears, that the surname of (a) *Ogmius* was given to *Hercules* in *Gaul*, and that he was named *the force of eloquence* : but that might be true, tho' the *Gauls* had not as yet the use of letters ; and so might be only meant of natural eloquence, which may be found, in a great degree, in illiterate people : but *Toland* finds a relation betwixt the name of *Ogmius*, given to *Hercules*, and the *Irish* *Ogum*, whence he insinuates, that the use of letters, with the language and religion, came from *Gaul* to *Ireland*.

Now, in the first place, this were to contradict all the *Irish* bards upon the origine of letters,

(a) *Toland's* posthum. works, p. 33. &c.

who,

who, as we have observed, attribute the invention of the *Ogum*, or of the *Irish*, and other letters to *Fenius Farsaidh*; and pretend, that the *Irish* descended of him, brought them about with them from *Egypt* and *Spain* to *Ireland*. 2°. If the use of letters was in those most ancient times received in *Gaul*, whence comes it, that in *Julius Cæsar's* (a) time, the *Druids* in *Gaul* were forced to make use of the *Greek* letters? 3°. If before the *Roman* times the use of letters was in *Gaul*, how comes it that no ancient inscription, nor any certain account of what past in *Gaul* in ancient times is to be found, but what is taken from the *Greek* or *Roman* writers? Are there not great actions said to be performed by the *Gauls* in ancient times, and was not the desire of perpetuating their memory as natural to them as to other men? And would they have failed to have done it, as well as the *Greeks* or *Romans*, if they had equally had the means?

BUT to come now to the meaning of the *Ogum* (b) *Waræus*, who had himself books concerning it, and had seen others, informs us, as we have already observed, that the *Ogum* was an artificial way of writing, different from the vulgar *Irish* characters, for keeping their secrets, a secret way of writing: in a word, a kind of cyphers unintelligible to all who had not the key of them.

(a) Cæsar. de bello Gallico, lib. 6.

(b) Waræus de antiq. Hybern. c. 2. p. 12.

But

But (a) *Toland* tells us in one place, that it was called the *secret of writing*; and that by *Ogum* were meant the primitive *Irish* characters or letters, which were of a quite different form from those that *St. Patrick* afterwards introduced; and that they were afterwards, instead of the *secret of writing*, called the *secret writing* only by accident; because *St. Patrick* having brought in the *Roman* letters, the *Ogum* began to grow obsolete, and was only intelligible to the learned, and became by degrees unintelligible to all others. This is indeed a very ingenious evasion, and answer to the objection that is drawn from the account that *Waræus* gives of the *Ogum*.

BUT this conduct of *St. Patrick* would have been such a singularity, as we meet with no where else; that any apostolical preacher sent to convert a nation to christianity, and finding the use of letters among them, instead of making use of that, as a means by which the gospel and doctrine of the christian religion might be more quickly and more easily propagated, should begin by introducing among them a new form of characters or letters, entirely unknown to them, and which would take them more time and more pains to learn than all the necessary doctrines of christianity. And is it very credible, that *St. Patrick* would willingly put this new and useless obstacle to the speedy

(a) *Toland's* posthum. works, p. 36.

propagation of the gospel that he came to preach, and not rather make use of the advantage that the *Irish*, having already the use of letters among them, presented to him to advance his apostolical work? And this so much the more, that St. *Patrick* (a) having spent about seven years of his youth in *Ireland*, had perfectly learned their language; and if they had the use of letters, might have learned that too.

BUT the same *Toland* (b), in another place, gives us a quite different notion of the *Ogum*; for he brings in *Will. Odonell*, afterwards a bishop, telling king *James I.* that he had enjoined one of his assistants in translating the bible into *Irish*, to write it according to the *Ogum*, and the propriety of the *Irish tongue*. Now I ask here, Was this *Ogum* that ancient *Irish* alphabet, or the *Beth-luis-nion*, which *Toland* had informed us above was become intelligible only to the learned? but that had been to render the scriptures absolutely unintelligible and useless, not only to lay-people, but to ministers. So, to be sure, the bishop would not make such a shocking proposal to the king. By the *Ogum* then, in this place, must be meant only the propriety of the *Irish* language, and so *Toland* himself explains it, or the true orthography of it, and that in the usual *Irish* characters or letters. And by consequence, no proof can be drawn from the *Ogum*,

(a) Usser. antiq. Brit. Eccles. fol. p. 431.

(b) *Toland*, ibid. p. 38.

of any peculiar characters or letters among the *Irish*, different from what we meet with in their MSS. and books printed in *Irish* character, which, as hath been already observed, was introduced by St. *Patrick*, and derived from the *Latin*.

Now whether this character, which resembles perfectly to the *Saxon*, came immediately from the *Irish* to the *Saxons*, or from the ancient *Britains* to both, as the author of the history of *Great Britain* lately published, or rather M. *Edward Lbuid* (a), in his *Welch* preface to his *Archeologia*, translated and inserted into the introduction to this history, pretends; I shall determine nothing, tho' I think M. *Lbuid*'s opinion better grounded and more probable: but whoever brought these letters or characters first into *Britain* or *Ireland*, we have (b) elsewhere abundantly shewn, that they came originally from the *Romans*.

BUT for a farther proof of the ancient use of letters in *Ireland* before St. *Patrick*'s time, *Toland* tells us (c), that *there flourished a great number of Druids, Bards, Vuids, and other authors in Ireland, long before Patrick's arrival; whose learning, says he, (though he knew that they were all infidels) was not only more extensive, but also more useful than*

(a) Hist. of *Great Britain*, in folio, by *John Lewis*. Introduction, p. 59, 60, &c.

(b) *Supra*, p. 443, &c.

(c) *Toland*, *ibid.* p. 48.

that

that of their christian posterity: this last sort being almost wholly employed in scholastick divinity, metaphysical or chronological disputes, &c.

Now Toland knew also very well, that notwithstanding any alteration that might have happened among the *Irish*, in the method or order of teaching the christian religion; the substance and essentials of it were still the same, after the eighth age, as before: and was then the learning of the *Druids*, who were truly magicians, more useful, in Toland's judgment, than that of christianity? and do all the pretensions of this famous free-thinker, to be governed in his belief solely by reason, terminate, at last, in such impious notions? I call the *Druids* magicians, because *δραον*, or *δρωιθε*, which is the *Irish* name of *Druids*, is the same by which, in the *Irish* translation of the Bible, both in the old and new testament, a magician is expressed; and that in the *Latin* lives of St. Patrick, and in that of St. Columba, by Adamnan, the *Druids* are called *Magi*.

TOLAND, for new proofs of the ancient use of letters in *Ireland*, runs (a) out into a long digression, upon the singular care and encouragements of learning, in that island, before St. Patrick's time, as Keating, O Flaherty, and others had done before him; each of them, as Toland (a)

(a) Toland, *ibid.* p. 49, 50, &c.

himself expresses elsewhere this copying one from another, *eternally serving up the same dishes at every meal*, and all of them referring to the authority of their ancient monuments, written by their bards; but never publishing any single entire piece of them, equally leave all of them in doubt. Toland goes on, and tells us, that there are great (a) numbers of MSS. of the *Druids* compositions still remaining; and for a certain proof of there having been such books of the *Druids*, extant before St. Patrick's time, he quotes some modern *Irish* writers, who, from some of the many legends of St. Patrick's life, relate, that he caused to be burnt many volumes of the *Druids* stuff with fables, and heathen superstitions; at which Toland (b) enters into a vehement declamation against this book-burning and letter-murdering humour, which, says he, *though far from being commanded by Christ, has prevailed in Christianity from the beginning: as in the Acts of the Apostles, (c) we read*, that many of them which believed, and used curious arts, brought their books together, and burnt them before all men; and they counted the price of them, and found it fifty thousand pieces of silver, or, about three hundred pounds sterling. This was the first instance of burning of books among christians; and ever since that time, the example has been better followed than any precept of the Gospel. Thus

(a) Toland, *ibid.* p. 45.

(b) Toland, p. 58.

(c) Acts xix. 19.

Toland. And one that did not know the fate of his *christianity not mysterious*, would easily suspect, by the passion with which he makes mention of the Apostles burning wicked books, that he is himself a party concerned.

BUT whatever be of the legends of *St. Patrick*, which even *Toland* can believe, when they serve to his purpose; it may very well have happened, that the *Druids*, being magicians, made use of magical, or other hieroglyphick characters, intelligible only to themselves, and their confederates, to express their diabolical enchantments and superstitions; and that they had volumes full of these, which, after the example of the Apostles, inflamed *St. Patrick's* zeal against them: but all this is no proof that they had the use of alphabetical letters, or that it was common in *Ireland*, before *St. Patrick* taught it the natives.

ART. V. *That even supposing that the Irish had the use of letters before the gospel was preached among them, their pretended ancient writers the bards deserve no credit.*

THE description that *Cornelius Tacitus* gives us of the custom used among the *Germans*, living in their natural state, towards preserving the memory of things past in old times, seems a lively portraiture of the more common means in use among the rest of the uncultivated northern nations, towards compass-

ing the same end. He tells us, that the *Germans* of old, had no (a) use of letters among them; and that the only (b) means they had for preserving the memory of past transactions, and their only annals, were rythms got by heart, which contained the elogiums of their first founders, and of those they looked upon as their heroes: and, a little after, he tells us, that they had rythms, or verses on this subject, called by them *Barditus*, by which they used to animate their soldiers to fight. Now this *Barditus* seems visibly derived from the bards, authors of those kind of rythms. And thus it was, in all probability, among the rest of the northern uncultivated nations. The only records of past transactions were the rythms of the bards, not put in writing, but got by heart, and recited on solemn occasions. The *Irish*, in particular, agree, that the bards, to whom they give several names were the recorders and preservers of their ancient transactions. It is therefore of importance, to enquire into the character of the bards in general, and of those of *Ireland* in particular, in order to judge of the credit of their high antiquities.

(a) *Literarum secreta tam viri quam mulieres ignorant. Tacit. de morib. German. pag. 224. edit. Plantin. fol. A. D. 1585.*

(b) *Celebrant carminibus antiquis (quod unicum apud illos memoriz & annalium genus est) Tuistonem Deum terra editum & filium Mannum, originem gentis conditoresque. —Sunt illis hæc quoque carmina, quorum relatu, quem Barditum vocant, accendunt animos. Tacit. ibid. p. 221.*

§. 1. Of the bards in general.

IN the first place it is to be remarked, that the bards, seanachies, or antiquaries, poets and genealogists frequently mentioned by the *Irish* writers, are but different names that design one and the same kind of men, called in *Celtick* (and from thence by the *Greeks* and *Latins*, and in other languages) *bards*, or, which is the same thing, *poets*, because they used to compose and chant verses, or rythms, in praise of their heroes or benefactors; called likewise *antiquaries* in *Irish seanachies*, by reason that the subject of their rythms was ordinarily the feats of ancient heroes, and of the ancestors of their patrons, or benefactors; called *genealogists*, because, in some countries, a part of their office was to make up and retain genealogies for their great men, or those that came to be in power.

As to the name of bard, it is originally *Celtick*, and so common to the *Britains* and *Irish*, as well as to the ancient *Gauls*, all these languages being originally dialects of the *Celtick*; and the word bard, in the *Celtick* tongue, signifies a poet, as a learned antiquary (a) observes. So we may observe, among the northern nations, the *Swedes* and *Danes*, any knowledge they pretend to of their antiquities, is ascribed by them to their ancient

(a) Pecron. antiquité des Gaules, p. 378.

poets, the same kind of men as the *Celtick* bards; and they pretend, no less than the *Irish*, to have remains and fragments of poems and rythms on their ancient heroes; and, by that means, set up for as high antiquities as the *Irish* do: witness *Johannes (a) Magnus*, archbishop of *Upsal*, his history of the *Goths*, which he begins as the *Irish* do, at *Magog*, the son of *Japhet*, and brings from him a distinct history of kings, succeeding one to another, down to his own time, to wit, to the sixteenth age.

THE bards are entirely to be distinguish'd from the *Druids*, and from the *Evages*, or *Vates* of the ancients, whose characters, as well as their discipline was quite distinct, as they are set down by (b) *Cæsar* of the *Druids*, and more particularly by (c) *Ammian Marcellin*, both of the *Druids* and *Evages*; neither of which had any thing to do with recording past transactions or histories, their whole office being employed about the religious part of the heathenish superstitions, or the forming their laws and manners, and deciding controversies or debates: but none of the many ancient authors that treat of *Druids*, ever give them, for any part of their calling, the wri-

(a) *Johan. magnus historia Goth. edit. Basil. 1558.*

(b) *Cæsar de bello Gallico, lib. 6. pag. 164. edit. Elzevir 1651.*

(c) *Euhages scrutantes seria & sublimia naturæ pandere conabatur. Inter hos Druidæ ingeniis celsiores, &c. Ammian. lib. 15. pag. 51. edit. Vales. in 4to.*

ting or keeping records of history: and *Ammian* distinguishes them entirely from the bards.

As to the character of the bards among the ancients, *Possidonius* (one of the most ancient authors that mention them) quoted by *Athenæus*, reckons them among the parasites, that lived by their flattering great or rich men. (a) *Diodorus* gives much the same account of them: and *Appian* speaks of them much in the same sense. Upon these and other passages of the ancients, the learned (b) *Valesius*, in his notes upon *Ammian Marcellin*, gives us the following description of them. By this, says *Valesius*, it appears the bards were nothing else but parasites, and such a kind of men as the *Latins* call *Scurræ*, or buffoons: for as these buffoons, or *Scurræ*, used to follow the armies to divert the soldiers in their banquets, by their jests and mimical gestures; so likewise the bards used to do. But this character seems too hard, if literally pressed: for it appears by *Ammian*, in the place upon which *Valesius* comments here, that the bards had besides this, at least among the *Gauls*, another more honourable means to flatter great men, by

(a) Diod. Sicul. lib. 5.

(b) Ex his patet bardos nihil aliud fuisse quam parasitos, planeque similes eorum quos Latini scurras vocabant: ut enim scurræ exercitum sequebantur, joci ac gesticulationibus milites inter convivia delinire soliti, ita etiam bardi. *Vales. not. in Ammian. p. 93.*

composing poems on the (a) noble feats of the heroes, and singing them to their harps.

WE are then now to consider, how far the knowledge of history, or of the antiquities of any nation, might have been preserved by men of the character of the bards. And in the first place it may be allowed, that some confused memory of the first founders, and more famous heroes of a nation, might have been preserved by their means: this may be confirmed by what we have already observed from *Tacitus*, of the custom of the ancient *Germans*: but it must be also allowed, that the accounts which the bards or poets of the ancients brought down of the origines of nations, and founders of empires, were so absolutely uncertain, and mixed with so many fables, that they can make no more faith in true history, than *Virgil's Æneids* can serve to give us light into the origine of the *Latins* or *Romans*.

IN the second place, some draughts of genealogies for princes or great men might also probably have been the fabrick of the bards, since that is made a part of their office: and no body fitter for it than such as they who stood at nothing to flatter their patrons, and gain favour with all that came to be in power, who could not fail to have

(a) Et bardi quidem fortia virorum illustrium facta heroicis composita versibus cum dulcibus lyre modulis cantarunt. *Ammian. l. 15. p. 51.*

their pedigree traced back to the first founders, or most famous men of a nation, since it cost no more than the coining a few names, or mixing them with some already in use. And these genealogies became a foundation, upon which, to build new heroes and noble exploits in after-times, when all distinct memory of past transactions being extinct, there was none who could contradict them, or who would dare to do it, when those, whose ancestors were erected into heroes, were powerful enough to crush all gainsayers. Thus the bards might have coined the first genealogies; and afterwards either they themselves, or others of the same stamp, created some of them heroes and conquerors, and attributed great exploits to them, according as it might serve to the honour of those in power at the time, whom the bards had made to descend from them: these rude draughts were polished by others, and *epochs* and dates added to them by posterior bards.

BUT all these rare collections of antiquities, so much valued in dark ages, came afterwards in other countries to be neglected and brought into contempt, especially in these later times; when the study of critick and true ancient history being renewed and generally received, the impartial men among the learned, in none of the northern countries of *Europe*, whether *Germans, French, Spaniards, Danes, &c.* do pretend to any certain history, or accounts of the origine of their people, or antiquities of their countries,

countries, but what they collect, and, as it were, glean from the *Greek* and *Roman* writers; nothing from their domestick writers in prose, or in rythm in their native tongues, before the times of the *Roman* empire. And what the ignorance or credulity of dark past ages had received of that kind, or that forgers had invented, tho' in praise of their ancestors, hath in this clear-sighted age been rejected, even by those most concerned, with disdain and contempt. Thus the *French* have rejected *Humbaldus*, the *Spaniards*, *Berosus*, the learned among the *English*, *Geoffrey's* inventions, and so of most other polite nations.

THUS we see how little credit hath been given of late generally in all countries, where learning hath been improved, to rythms or rhapsodies of bards or other forgers, since nothing of that kind, or very little, hath been thought fit to be transmitted to posterity, or published to the world.

§. 2. Of the Irish bards.

BUT perhaps the bards or seanachies of *Ireland* were a kind of men of greater credit and veracity, and less subject to flattering, lying, or detraction, and not so liable as the bards in other nations to the several passions, that make men swerve from the truth, that so their accounts of antiquity might deserve to be more valued.

BUT

BUT we need no other proofs than those we are furnished with by the *Irish* writers, and those too the greatest admirers of their high antiquities, to prove that the *Irish* bards or antiquaries, were of all others the least to be depended on.

ODONNELL, an *Irish* writer of the life of St. Columba, translated into *Latin*, and published by (a) Colgan, in his *Trias Thaumaturga*, informs us, that about the year 586 of Christ, it was decreed in the assembly of Dromkeat, by Aidus king of Ireland, that all the race of the bards or antiquaries should be banished that kingdom, and their discipline abolished; but that St. Columba (a very likely tale) was pleased to intercede for them: and the motive of this decree or law, against the bards or antiquaries, is very remarkable, to wit, because they (b) used to turn their rhythms or poems (in which they delivered the accounts of antiquities or genealogies) into excessive praises and flatteries of the great men, whose favour or presents they hunted after, or in satirical

(a) Rex Aidus statuerat bardos, seu antiquariorum rei professores tota insula pelleret & disciplinam abolere. Colgan *Trias Thaumaturga*, p. 430, 431.

(b) Sua sæpe poemata convertebant in excessivas laudes horum nobilium quorum gratiam & donaria venabantur, sæpe in Satyricas invektivas in alios quibus æque affecti aut beneficiis allekti non erant. Colgan. *ibid.*

invektives

invectives against those that were not so liberal to them. This is just the character that *Diodorus Siculus* had given of the bards among the *Celts* (a). *Sunt apud eos (Celtas) melici poetæ quos appellant bardos. Hi ad instrumenta quædam lyris similia horum laudes, illorum vituperia decantant.* This justifies (b) *Valesius's* character of the bards, that their custom was to praise and flatter their masters and princes, and those who bestowed most upon them, and to make bitter invectives against the enemies and adversaries of their patrons, and those that were not liberal to them: so it appears, that both the *Celtish* and *Irish* bards were equally a kind of parasites in effect, but with this difference, that these ancient bards of the *Celts* got perhaps nothing, but to fill their bellies in reward for their flatteries; whereas we are (c) told, that the *Irish* bards or antiquaries got for their reward lands and possessions.

Now let it be remarked, that these bards or antiquaries whom *Odonnell* says were decreed to be banished the kingdom for their impostures, flatteries, and calumnies, were probably christians: since *St. Columba* is brought in to intercede for them; and that christianity had been by this time

(a) *Diodor. lib. 5. p. 425.*

(b) *Quippe dominos suos & reges quorum mensas seſtabantur bardi laudabant: inimicos vero hoſteſque regum ſuorum conviciis inceſſebant. Valeſ. not. in Ammian. p. 93.*

(c) *D. Ken. geneal. pref. p. 78.*

settled in *Ireland* for above one hundred years : What then may be thought of the ancient bards, or antiquaries of *Ireland* in times of paganism ? And how far would their writings, if they had left any, deserve to be depended on, when they left the spirit of imposture so deeply rooted in their posterity, that even christianity could not correct it ? What certain history might we expect from them, if any thing had remained of their rythms to after-ages ?

BUT this is not all : (a) we are told farther, that the bards or antiquaries of *Ireland* had been twice decreed before this to be expelled out of the island, their impostures, flatteries, and insolence having frequently grown to that height, that even pagans had a horror of, and could not bear with them. And M. Toland (b), as hath been already observed, acknowledges that the *Irish* bards, besides their poetical licences, were both mercenary and partial to a scandalous degree.

NOTHING shews a plainer proof to what a pitch those pretended antiquaries of *Ireland* had carried their impostures and fabulous flatteries, than to consider what the *Irish* (c) writers often repeat, of the great love and attache their countrymen had to

(a) D. Ken. pref. gen. p. 77. 170. Keating, pag. 371. &c alibi.

(b) Toland's posthumous works, to 1. pag. 50.

(c) Keating, Flaherty, &c. D. Ken. gen. pref. passim.

the bards and antiquaries, when they kept within tolerable bounds. To what a pitch then of lying and calumny must they have been arrived; when the *Irish*, notwithstanding the love we are told they had for preserving the memory of their antiquities, found themselves obliged to come thrice, at different times, to a resolution of banishing these only recorders and preservers of them?

By this, I conceive, it plainly appears, that the *Irish* bards were at least of no greater credit than those of other nations; no less accustomed to measure their rythms and historical accounts only by love, hatred, interest, and such other passions that make men swerve from the truth, and render their testimony unworthy of credit: so that in case any thing were remaining of the rythms of the bards, especially antecedent to the times in which they received christianity, and the use of letters; it may be expected that the generality of the more considerate men of the nation will, by degrees, look upon these remains of the bards, as unworthy of taking place in the body of their history, as we see the more learned and judicious among them do already condemn them; as the *Germans*, *Spaniards*, the *French*, and other nations have done: among whom no men of learning pretend to have any remains of their ancient bards, or any writers before the fifth or sixth age, nor any certainty

tainty of their origines, nor of the ancient historical accounts of their countries, but what they pick out of the *Greek* and *Latin* authors.

AND so I think it may be concluded (a) with the learned *Wareus*, that all these pretended ancient rythms, in which we are told are contained accounts of the first founders, colonies, genealogies, and ancient kings of *Ireland*, are not pieces conveyed down from the times before christianity was received, as their modern writers would have us believe, but are almost all of them the productions of later ages.

AND from all that hath been said in this paragraph of the bards, we may likewise conclude, that tho' we should suppose (against what hath been (b) shewn before) that the use of letters had been received in *Ireland* in ancient times, before the preaching of the gospel there; yet the only pretended writers of the *Irish* in these early times, being the bards, no credit ought to be given to the accounts of men of such an odious character.

(a) Notandum descriptiones fere omnium [rerum in Hybernia gestarum] quæ de illis temporibus, (vestustioribus dico) extant, opera esse posteriorum sæculorum. *War. de antiq. Hybern. pref. pag. 1.*

(b) §§. 3 & 4.

ART.

ART. VI. *The uncertainty of the remote antiquities of Ireland appears by the contradictory accounts given of them, and the many alterations made in them by posterior writers.*

THAT very little credit ought to be given to the *Irish* bards in the accounts of their remote antiquities, even suppose it were granted, that the use of letters had been in *Ireland* before christianity, will as yet appear more evident to any that will consider in the first place the contradictions betwixt the ancient and modern writers, in the accounts they give of those antiquities: and in the next, the many additions, retrenchments, and alterations, or reformations made by degrees, in the first rude draughts of them, left by those bards who first invented them; made in them, I say, afterwards by their posterior bards or antiquaries, as they came more and more to the knowledge of the general history of the world.

WHO is there among the learned antiquaries of this critical age that can believe, for example, the detail of the accounts which we have set down from the modern *Irish* writers? ART. I. Of the plantations of *Ireland*, even since the flood of *Noah*, and before the *Milesians*: And ART. 2. Those of the ancient literature of the *Irish* before the times of christianity, especially if compared with the accounts that the most ancient writers, and the most learned among the modern, give unanimously,

unanimously, as we have seen, of their being uncultivated, and in the ignorance of letters, common to all other northern nations of *Europe* in those early times: and yet all these accounts of their ancient plantations, with a greater detail of circumstances than I have related, as well as those of the school in the plains of *Senaar*; and other instances of their ancient literature are related, as they inform us, by their bards or seanachies, and other writers whom they value most.

BUT to go no farther up than the coming in of the *Milesians*, on the certainty of which all their following history, and succession of their ancient kings, till the times of christianity, do depend; what is more capable to bring in doubt all the detail they give of the *Milesians*, than to pretend to give us, as they do, the precise day of the week, of the month, and of the moon, on which the *Milesians* first landed in *Ireland*; when at the same time we have assured proofs, that only three or four ages ago they knew not within several hundred years the precise *Æra* of the coming in of that colony? O. *Flaberty* (a), one of their most learned writers, places the settlement of the *Milesians* in *Ireland* only one thousand years before the incarnation: others, as *Keating* and Dr. *Kenedy* say, one thousand three hundred years; others, one thousand four hundred: but *Donald*

(a) *Ogyg.* p. 83, 84, &c. 182, 183, &c.

Oneyl, a king of *Ulster*, with the other princes and inhabitants of *Ireland*, in their letter (a) to pope *John XXII*, *A. D.* 1317. informs the pope, (no doubt, according to the common opinions of the most learned bards or antiquaries of their time) that it was above three thousand five hundred years since the three sons of *Milesius* came from *Spain* and settled in *Ireland*; that is to say, that, in the opinion of the antiquaries of these times, the *Milesian* colony settled in *Ireland* about two thousand two hundred years before the incarnation: so whilst their writers pretend to give us the precise day of the week, and of the moon, of this colony's coming to *Ireland*, there's above one thousand years difference betwixt the date that the *Irish* antiquaries give to it in the fourteenth age, and that to which *Flaberty* hath reduced it in the seventeenth. And the same letter contains another proof of the inconsistencies of these *Milesian* antiquities in the number of *Irish* kings of that race, which the modern *Irish* reckon only 126 or 127, from *Heremon* to *Leogaire*; whereas king *Donald Oneyl's* seanachies reckoned them 136. And it is not unlikely, that if they would at last gratify the

(a) A tempore quo antiqui patres nostri, scilicet tres filii Milesii Hispani cum triginta navium classe a Cantabria— in Hiberniam, tunc omni carentem incolæ, divinitus devenerunt, tres mille quingenti & amplius fluxerunt anni; & ex ipsis, sine admixtione sanguinis alieni, totius Hyberniz cœperunt monarchiam reges centum triginta sex usque Legarium regem. Ex litteris Donaldi Oneyl regis Ultoniz, &c. ad Joannem P. XXII. apud *Fordun*, edit. *Tho. Hearne*, pag. 903.

publick with a true edition of the ancientest poems, or works of their bards on this subject, we should find that the older they are, the more they would be incredible in themselves, and the more inconsistent with the new schemes to which they have reduced them.

BUT in the mean-time, until exact copies be published, with literal translations, and without alterations of these ancient poems or works of their bards or seanachies, and among the rest the (a) book with the white cover, a very authentick piece, written, as they say, in their pagan ancestors time; the (b) book of conquests; the *Psaltar Casbel*, and such others, which they (c) assure us are still in being, and in their possession, containing their remote antiquities before christianity: in the mean-time, till these be published, some of their many variations and alterations in the scheme of their antiquities, and the inconsistency of their modern schemes of them, with the first draughts of them broach'd by their bards in times of ignorance, may be shewn, by setting down the different and contradictory accounts which the *Irish* and *Scots* give of them, tho' originally the same.

AND first, it is to be observed that the *Irish* writers will by no means allow the *Scots* any knowledge of these high antiquities, but what they re-

(a) *Leabhar dromasnacla.*

(b) *Leabhar gabhala.*

(c) *D Ken. p. 25.*

ceived

ceived at first from the *Irish*. The *Scots*, says a late (a) writer, *have no history or records* (of the high antiquities) *but what they copied or transcribed from those of Ireland*. I am truly of the same opinion, as to all that is related of the *Scots*, before they came over to *Britain*, and whilst they made as yet one people with the inhabitants of *Ireland*: and it were a great injustice to rob the *Irish* seanachies of the honour of being the first inventors and abettors of these high antiquities.

THIS supposed, it follows in course, that the stories of the *Irish* and *Scotish* seanachies concerning the origin, genealogy, and various transmigrations of the *Channagaodhall*, or *Milesian* race, were originally the same, as proceeding from the same source, to wit, the *Irish* bards or seanachies. Now it is certain, that the accounts which the *Irish* and *Scots* give of these antiquities, are become in progress of time very different, both as to the genealogy, the time of their first settlement in *Ireland*, the founders, and beginning of their monarchy there: and by consequence, either the *Irish* or the *Scotish* antiquaries must have made considerable alterations in them since the times that the *Scots* at first received them from the *Irish*. And it seems no less certain, that those alterations can be ascribed only to those that had interest to make them, towards raising their credit, and procuring honour to themselves by them.

(a) General. D. Ken. pref. p. 6, 7.

IN the next place it doth not appear that the *Scots* in *Britain* had any private interest or national concern in transactions which are supposed to have past long before they came to be settled in *Britain*, as a distinct people from the *Irish*: and therefore would naturally leave the genealogies, names of founders, and *Epochs* of their coming to *Ireland*, in the same case as they had at first received them from the *Irish* bards, without any alteration by design.

WHEREAS on the contrary, the *Irish* writers had private motives, and a national concern, as we shall just now see, for the honour of their country, to alter them: since, in order to render their history and genealogies the more likely, and to raise their settlement in *Ireland*, and beginning of their monarchy in the *Milesian* line, to a greater height of antiquity, they were under a necessity of reforming and polishing the first rude draughts of their antiquities, which their bards or seanachies had broach'd in times of darkness and ignorance, without a prospect of the large fabrick, which their posterity, by the help of a farther insight in the general history of the world, were to raise upon these rude and imperfect beginnings.

WE shall now compare together the different accounts given of those antiquities, by the most ancient *Scottish* writers remaining, and those given
of

of them by the *Irish* of the present, and these several ages past. By the first we shall see the first originals of these antiquities, in the condition in which the *Scots* at first received them from the *Irish*. By the latter, that is, by the present scheme to which the *Irish* have reduced those antiquities, we shall easily observe, (in comparing it to the scheme which the *Scots* at first received and have preserved) what alterations the *Irish* leana-chies and criticks have thought fit, in after-ages, to make in them: and at the same time, we shall endeavour to discover the motives of some of the more remarkable of these alterations.

1°. BOTH the *Scotish* and *Irish* antiquaries bring down the genealogies from (a) *Noah's* son *Japhet*: but the first inventors of the genealogy bring the descent by *Gomer*, as being *Japhet's* eldest son; and so it is set down by *Magraith* (b), one of the most famous *Irish* genealogists, and the *Scots* have still retained it: whereas the posterior *Irish* writers having become acquainted with ancient history, and finding that the *Scyths*, of whom the *Scots* are thought to be descended, came from *Magog*, according to *Josephus* and other historians, and not from *Gomer*; reformed the old genealogy, and brought the descent from *Magog*. It is easy to see, that this alteration is the effect of reflexion and second thoughts.

(a) Fordun, l. 5. c. 50. edit. Th. Hearne, p. 487, 488.

(b) Codex MS. biblioth. Ducis de Chandois, vol. 78.

2°. IT appears, that in the first draughts of this genealogy there were one hundred and four descents (a) from *Adam*, that is, ninety-four from *Noah*, till *Conarc-mor*, whom the *Irish* place about the time of the incarnation: and the *Scots*, in their draughts of it, retain still the same number of generations or descents. But it is easy to see, that the *Irish* antiquaries having afterwards perused the holy scriptures, and observing that in the same space of time, and number of years, there were only sixty-seven generations from *Noah* till Christ, set down by St. *Luke*, and according to St. *Matthew* only fifty, or fifty-four; thought fit to reform the old draught of their genealogy, containing about ninety-four generations in the same length of time; and by cutting off twenty of them, reduced them first to about seventy-two generations; and not satisfied with that, (b) *Flaberty* lops off nine or ten more, and reduces them exactly to the number of the longest scripture genealogy, that of St. *Luke*: and so on the whole, there are about 30 generations cut off; and the number, which was one hundred and four, (from *Adam* to *Conar*, placed in the time of the incarnation, according to the old draughts of the genealogy still preserved by the *Scots*) is reduced to about seventy-five or seventy-six; and among these lopt off by *Flaberty*, are *Fergus*, *Maine*, and others, rec-

(a) Fordun, *supra*;

(b) Ogyg. p. 122.

known among the first *Scotish* kings in their vulgar histories.

THIS freedom that *Flaberty* takes with the genealogy, shews us what the custom was of their bards in former ages, to reform their antiquities to render them more conformable to other received histories; and that the difference betwixt the numbers of descents in this genealogy, in the *Scotish* and *Irish* accounts of it, proceeds, in all appearance, from the former reductions the *Irish* had made of it, in order to render it more likely, and so gain credit to their antiquities, whereof this genealogy is the chief foundation: whereas the *Scots*, having no such interest in the remote antiquities of *Ireland*, preserved with simplicity the genealogy, in the same state that they had first received it from the *Irish* bards, before these alterations. And for a further proof that the *Scots* account of it is the more ancient and genuine, and was in ancient times that of the *Irish* also, we find the same names and number of descents in the most ancient copies of it; whereof one will be found in the appendix of pieces, *num.* 4. by an author of the twelfth age, ending at king *William*; the other is in *Radulfus de (a) Diceto*, dean of *London* in the same age.

3°. IT appears also that the *(b) Scots* preserved, with the same simplicity, the stories of *Gathelus*,

(a) Decem scriptor. Angl. col. 627;

(b) Fordun, l. 1. c. 10, 11, &c.

or *Gaidelglas*, and of *Milesius*, whom they call *Micelius* and *Miledespain*, in the native shape in which they had been first conceived by the *Irish* bards, and delivered to the *Scots* before they were refined. That *Gatbelus*, son of *Niulus*, having fled to *Egypt*, married *Scota*, *Pbaraob's* daughter, and that in *Moses's* time: that on occasion of the plagues sent on *Egypt*, *Gatbelus* left it, with his wife *Scota*, and followers; and after a long pilgrimage arrived in *Spain*, and there settled a kingdom of *Scots*, so called from this *Scota*; and from him descended *Micelius*, or *Milesius*, in the thirteenth degree, his successor in the kingdom of *Scots* in *Spain*. This *Gatbelus*, before he died, sent the first colony to *Ireland*, under his son *Hyber*; and from him the island took its name.

THIS was the story of *Gatbelus* or *Gaidelglas*, and *Scota*, such as we find it, not only in *Boece*, but in *Fordun*.

NOW 'tis to be observed, (as we are informed by one of (a) *Fordun's* continuators, who gives us an account of his travels, in order to collect materials for his chronicles) that *Fordun*, besides his consulting the *Scotish* seanachies upon the antiquities of the *Scots* in the earliest times, went over on purpose to *Ireland*, to consult also the seanachies or antiquaries of that island, looked upon as (b)

(a) *Supra*, p. 206. ex præf. Chron. de Cupro.

(b) In oraculis Hyberniz. *Ibid.*

oracles in those matters; and 'tis remarked in particular by that writer, that *Fordun* not only conversed with the historians of all parts where he travelled, but inspected their annals, and conferred with them upon history and antiquities. This was in the fourteenth age, not long after the letter already mentioned, of king *Donald Oneyl* to pope *John XXII.* in which that prince gives, from the *seanachies* of those times, so different an account, both of the antiquity of the *Milesian* settlement, and of the number of kings of that race, from what the modern *Irish* writers relate of the one and the other. Now *Fordun* having compared the *Scotish* accounts of these remote antiquities, with those of the *seanachies* of *Ireland*, must have found them, in all appearance, conformable to some of the *Irish* accounts; (for by what we have observed from king *Donald's* letter, they were not all of a piece) this renders *Fordun's* authority more considerable in those remote antiquities; which, as it will appear in the sequel of this essay, was one of the chief objects of *Fordun's* travels, in order to raise the *Scotish* antiquities as high as king *Edward I.* in his letter to pope *Boniface VIII.* had raised those of the *Britains*.

BUT to return to the story of *Gathelus*, or *Gaidelglas*: that the account that *Fordun* gives of that story, was conformable to what the *Scots* at first had received from the *Irish seanachies*, appears
for

for the reason already alledged, to wit, that the *Scots* having become a distinct nation from the *Irish*, had no interest to rectify the errors of those antiquities, and therefore preserved the accounts of them, without examining whether likely or not, but contented themselves to hand them down to posterity, such as they found them. But the sennachies of *Ireland* becoming more learned in after-ages, and discovering the palpable inconsistency of these first draughts of their antiquities with the holy scripture, and all true history, thought with reason that they had as good a right to correct and reform them, as the old bards their predecessors had at first to invent them. Having then observed, that there was no possibility of making *Moses* and *Gaidelglas* contemporary, *Moses* being in the seventeenth degree descended from *Noah*, and *Gaidel*, (according to the alteration made in the genealogy) only in the seventh degree; and there being, (as *Flaherty* observes) about six hundred years betwixt *Gaidel* and *Moses*, they were forced to abandon the *Epoch* of *Moses's* time: but being, it seems, unwilling to lose this *Scota*, daughter of *Pharaoh*, and her marriage with *Niul* or *Gaidel*, which their own ancient bards, as well as those of the *Scots*, had maintained, they resolved to have a new *Scota*, daughter also to another *Pharaoh*, king of *Egypt*, to be married to one of their leading-men, and give her name to the nation.

NONE

NONE was so fit for this match as *Milesius*, whom they intended to make the patriarch of the *Milesian* colony in *Ireland*, and stock of a long race of kings in that island. But *Milesius* was king of the *Scots* in *Spain*, where, according to the old form of the genealogy, his predecessors had reigned for about thirteen generations, down from the times of *Gaidelglas*; he is therefore conveyed away back from *Spain*, first to *Scythia*, where he is made to serve under king *Resloir*; and thence to *Egypt*, where he married the second *Scota*, daughter to another *Pharaoh*, and carried her with him to *Spain*.

4°. ACCORDING to the *Scotish* (a) tradition, this *Milesius* sent indeed to *Ireland*, a second colony from *Spain*, with his sons *Heremon*, *Partholom* or *Bartholm*, and *Ilybert*: these two last it seems remained in *Ireland*. But as for *Heremon*, he returned back to *Spain*, and succeeded his father *Milesius* in the kingdom of *Scots* in *Spain*, where his posterity continued down the race of *Scotish* kings for twenty generations, till the time of one *Eondulf*, son of *Edanglas*, or *Etheon*. This *Eondulf*, or *Fondulf*, sent a third colony to *Ireland*, under the command of his son (b) *Simon Breac*, who carried with him the famous fatal stone, and placed it as the seat of the kingdom at *Themor* or

(a) Fordun, l. i. c. 21.

(b) Ibid. l. i. c. 26.

Teambra; and thus founded the monarchy of the *Scots* in *Ireland*, about the time of *Manasses* king of *Juda*; that is, about six hundred years before the birth of Christ. From this *Simon Breac*, say the *Scots*, are descended all the monarchs of *Ireland*, and in after-ages those of *Scotland*. And this was the account of the beginning of the *Irish* monarchy, as the *Scots* had it from them in ancient times; and so, in all appearance, it was the first draught of it, invented by the bards.

BUT the succeeding *Irish* antiquaries were, it seems, by no means satisfied with this first plan of the *Milesian Scottish* monarchy in *Ireland*, which placed their settlement and beginning of their monarchy no sooner than about six hundred years before the incarnation: and being resolved to give it a much higher date, they pitched, for the founder of it, on *Heremon* son to *Milesius*, about twenty generations before *Simon Breac*; and therefore, whereas the *Scottish* antiquaries had told us, that *Heremon*, after visiting *Ireland*, had immediately returned back, and succeeded *Milesius* his father as king of the *Scots* in *Spain*, and there his posterity reigned after him down till *Simon Breac*: the posterior scanachies of *Ireland* would not have *Heremon* to return to *Spain*, but to remain in *Ireland*, and there set up the *Irish* monarchy, some say two thousand years before the incarnation, others thirteen hundred; and *Flaberty* at last hath criticized away about one half of the time, and settled the

Epoch

Epoch of the foundation of the *Milesian* kings in *Ireland* by *Heremon* about a thousand years only before the birth of Christ.

AND as for *Simon Breac*, whom the *Scots*, on the credit of or tradition of the *Irish* bards, (their only vouchers for all these high antiquities) had brought from *Spain*, with the fatal chair, to become the first founder of that monarchy : the later *Irish* seanachies will have him never to have been in *Spain*, nor out of *Ireland*, and appoint him the thirty-eighth king of the *Milesian Scots* in *Ireland*, from *Heremon* ; and at last perhaps to hinder any ever after to give him the honourable title of first founder of that monarchy, the succeeding antiquaries (a) of *Ireland*, by that sovereign power they have, as well as their predecessors, to make and unmake monarchs, and dispose in their rythms, as well of their fortunes, as of their beings, have doomed *Simon*, as the fancy took them, some of them, to be hanged on a gibbet ; others to be torn to pieces.

I am afraid, that those among the *Irish*, who still set up for these remote antiquities, will be dissatisfied with the placing on a level the *Scottish* traditions concerning these antiquities, with those of the *Irish* : for what is *John Fordun*, a private churchman, who wrote only in the four-

(a) *Ogyg.* p. 249. — Keating.

teenth age, when compared to *Cormac Culenan*, a king and bishop, author of the *Psalter Casbel*; who wrote in the tenth age?

BUT, in the first place, *John Fordun*, as hath been elsewhere observed, hath this advantage over the *Psalter Casbel*, that his chronicle is in print, and the publick in condition to examine and judge of it; whereas *Psalter Casbel* is kept still in the dark, with the rest of the *Irish* seanachies works: so that hitherto no judgment can be made of it.

2°. It is to be considered, that neither the *Psalter Casbel*, nor *John Fordun*, can be alledged as records sufficient to vouch or attest transactions passed about two thousand years before their times, such as the stories of *Milesius*, *Heremon*, and *Simon Breac*; but the authority, both of the one and the other, can be valued only in so far as it is supposed that they copied from more ancient writers. Now if *Psalter Casbel* quotes, as we are told, the book with the white cover, that of the immigrations and some *Irish* poems for its authorities: *John Fordun* quotes for his *Chronica & alia Chronica*, *Grossum Caput*, *Legenda Brandani*, *Legenda Congalli*, &c. and why may not these last be of as great authority as the first?

3°. THE main question here, is of the stories of *Heremon*, son to *Milesius*, and of *Simon Breac*; which of the two was the founder of the *Milesian* monarchy in Ireland.

IT is, in the first place, agreed on both sides, that the *Scots* in *Britain* had originally their accounts of these high antiquities from the *Irish*: now if at the time, when they first received these stories from the *Irish*, it had been the common tradition of the bards that *Heremon* remained in *Ireland*, and was the first founder of the monarchy, there can no reasonable motive be assigned why the *Scots*, having that tradition from the ancient *Irish*, should have altered it, and held so positively, that *Heremon* returned back to *Spain*, and there succeeded his father *Milesius*; and that the *Scotish* monarchy in *Ireland* did not begin till about seven hundred years after *Heremon*; that *Simon Breac*, son of *Eondulf* king of the *Scots* in *Spain*, came to *Ireland*, and began the monarchy there. Whereas it is evident, that the *Irish*, and they alone, had interest to alter that tradition, and set up *Heremon* for the first king, and founder of the *Milesian* kingdom in *Ireland*, in order to attribute to their monarchy about seven hundred years of antiquity, beyond what the first inventors of the story had thought of, and to create the number of thirty-nine or forty new kings of *Ireland* before *Simon Breac*, whom the *Scots*, according to the accounts they had from the most ancient *Irish* seanachies, held for the first king of *Ireland* of the *Milesian Irish* race.

BESIDES

BESIDES that, *Fordun* assures us, that he had this account from ancient chronicles, as I said before, whom he quotes frequently for every particular story of these high antiquities; as he does also verses or rythms. We have a short old (a) chronicle in *Latin* rythm, written about the time of king *Alexander II.* or *III.* above one hundred years before *Fordun*, which gives the same account of *Simon Breac's* coming from *Spain* to *Ireland*, with the fatal stone, or marble chair, and of his being the first founder of the *Milesian Scots* monarchy in *Ireland*, about one thousand and two years after the *Egyptians* were drowned in the *Red Sea* in *Moses's* time; that is, about six hundred years only before the incarnation.

BUT what seems to confirm still more the *Scotish* account, (if the more ancient writers may be depended upon) and that the *Scotish* tradition concerning the time of the first coming of the *Milesian Scots* from *Spain* to *Ireland*, in order to settle, was the ancient tradition of the *Irish* themselves: what seems to prove this beyond dispute is, that *Nennius*, a writer of the ninth age, and by consequence more ancient than *Psaltar Cashel*, or any writer that

(a) Post obitum regis Pharaonis mille duobus annis ut recolo, &c. *Chron. Rythm. Scotor. in append. num. 6. cap. 4.*

the *Irish* have yet produced, (a) tells us in the first place, that he had his information from the most learned among the Scots, *peritissimi Scotorum*, (which if the *Irish*, as they use to do, interpret the most learned of the *Irish*, the proof will be the stronger.) *Nennius* then tells us from these vouchers, that the Scots, descended of *Scota*, *Pharoah's* daughter, came to *Ireland* from *Spain* one thousand and two years after the *Egyptians* were drowned in the *Red Sea*, that is, only about five or six hundred years before the incarnation; and by consequence, their monarchy in *Ireland* cannot be more ancient.

THIS then was the constant belief both of *Scots* and *Irish* in those days, that is, before the tenth age, when *Psaltar Cashel* is said to have been written: and this account of *Nennius* agreeing entirely with the accounts given by the *Scots* in *Britain* of these high antiquities, and absolutely contrary to those of the modern *Irish*; shews that the *Scots* in *Britain* have carefully preserved the first draughts of these high antiquities, made by the ancient bards or *seanachies*; and that the *Irish* *seanachies* and writers have alter'd them since the ninth or tenth age, in order to raise higher the

(a) Siquis voluerit scire quanto tempore fuit inhabitabilis & deserta Hybernia, sic mihi peritissimi Scotorum nuntiaverunt . . . p. 101. Et postea venerunt [*Scoti*] ad Hyberniam post mille duobus annis post merisionem Ægyptiorum in mari rubro, &c. *Nennius edit. Rog. Gale, c. 9. p. 100.*

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beginning of the *Irish* monarchy, and to multiply their kings, by adding about forty ancient kings to their number.

AND by this it appears, that the modern *Irish* abettors of their high antiquities are obnoxious to the very same reproach that they make to the modern writers of *Scotland*, of having placed the beginning of the monarchy of the *Scots* in *Britain* about seven hundred years before the true *Æra* of that monarchy, and of having added to the number of their kings in *Britain*, from *Fergus I.* till *Fergus II.*'s forty kings that had been unknown to more ancient writers. For by what we have said, not only from the accounts of the high *Irish* antiquities preserved by the *Scots*, but from those of the best skilled among the ancient *Irish* in the ninth age; and by consequence more ancient than any writer the *Irish* have as yet published in favour of them: from all this it appears, that the *Irish* in later ages have set up a long race of *Milesian Scotish* kings in *Ireland*, amounting to the number of about forty, from *Heremon* till *Simon Breac*, all of them unknown to their more ancient and best skilled antiquaries, as we learn from *Nennius*, and pretended to have reigned above seven hundred years before the *Milesian* monarchy was set up in *Ireland*. So we may justly conclude, that however faulty or fabulous the modern *Scotish* writers have been in anticipating the settlement of the *Scots* in *Britain*, and multiplying the number of their
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kings, they did not deserve to be reproached and insulted, at least by those of the modern *Irish* writers, who abet with no less confidence a scheme of remote antiquities, that seems no less incredible and groundless than those of the modern *Scottish* writers.

HOWEVER by all that hath been said in this article, it appears, that the remote antiquities of *Ireland* were not all invented or arranged at once, but grew up, with progress of time, to the height and order that we find them digested in *Flaberty*, and in their other modern writers; the first bards having brought them forth in a confused and shapeless mass, such as we find them in *Nennius*, and other ancient (a) writers; they were afterwards digested into a more regular form, with considerable alterations and additions: and in fine, by the care and industry of more polished writers in after-ages, they were brought, by degrees, into a more tolerable consistency, to render them credible, and cover their original deformity and palpable contradictions to all true ancient history, that would clearly appear, if they were exposed to the eyes of the publick in their native original dress; towards hiding of which, nothing is of greater use than never to publish their pretended ancient original poems and bardish rythms whole and entire,

(a) See the preface to *St. Cadroe's* life, and that of *St. Abban*, in *Celgan's* lives of the saints.

but to content themselves, as they have hitherto done, to refer to them in general, or to quote here and there a few passages or extracts as taken from them, but keep the entire originals still from the sight of the publick, so as the reader, however skilled, can never be able to make any fixed judgment of the age, or veracity of these pretended original histories or annals: but this deserves to be considered apart.

ART. VII. That the Irish shunning to publish their pretended ancient original histories or chronicles, such as they are, without addition or retrenchment, gives a just ground to suspect the credit of them, and of the remote antiquities built upon them.

WE are now no more in those ages of ignorance and credulity, where detail'd accounts of transactions passed in the darkest and most remote antiquity, tho' supported only by confident assertions, that they were taken from unknown ancient writers or records, went easily down. Men have begun, long since, to measure their belief of remote antiquities, by the credit that the vouchers, on which they are grounded, have obtained, when, after being made publick, they have passed the examination of the learned: and all trifling and shifting to expose pretended ancient writers, whole and entire to such a tryal, is much the same as to abandon them, and give them up, since it visibly shows a diffidence that they cannot abide the test.

HENCE

HENCE a new objection against the credit of the pretended ancient writers of *Ireland*, and by consequence against their remote antiquities, is drawn from this, that the abettors of these high antiquities, persevere to keep these pretended ancient monuments and documents of these antiquities from the eyes of the publick (whilst they load it with so many other writings, pretended to be taken from them) by which they give some occasion to suspect that they are afraid, that if these writings of their bards, or poets, &c. were made publick, whole and entire such as they are, they would be so far from finding any credit with unbiassed persons, versed in ancient history, that on the contrary they would lose that small credit, which the confident assertions of their abettors procure them, in hopes of their coming out at last to make good what they assert of them.

AND indeed it appears a very odd thing, as we have already observed; that tho' there is scarce a people in *Europe*, that pretends to have any knowledge or light of the ancient state of their country, within many ages of the times of which the *Irish* pretend to give us chronological, genealogical, and detailed accounts of theirs; from ancient documents or monuments of history, which they assure us are still in being; yet the *Irish* are the only people of all the nations in *Europe*, who have never as yet published so much as

one entire copy of any one of these much boasted of old MSS. of their civil history and antiquities, written by any author that lived before these last three hundred years; whilst at the same time they have published in this and the last age above 20 volumes of dissertations on pretended abstracts of these ancient MSS. And whilst all other nations have published all they could find of theirs, and continue daily to publish all they can discover, good or bad, of ancient monuments or documents of the history of their country: and by thus exposing those remains of their ancient history to the judgment of the learned world; and comparing them with the certain monuments of the ancient received histories of the *Roman* empire, of those of their own and neighbouring nations, they come to discern the genuine pieces from the spurious, and daily correct the errors and mistakes which the ignorance and credulity of former ages had mix'd with their history: and by that means gain to it credit among the learned of other nations, and to themselves the reputation of sincere lovers of truth. It is upon this principle, and with this view that we have so many volumes of the *English* history published, under the title of *Scriptores Angliæ*; of the *French*, by the title of *Scriptores Francici*, or *Galliæ*; the *Scriptores Germaniæ*, and other northern nations, *Scriptores Italici*, &c. And as to the *Scottish* history, tho' most of their historical ancient monuments are perish'd, by the occasions that we shall afterwards relate; what as yet re-

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main are published; such as the chronicles of *Maybrofs*, two editions of that of *Ferdun*, the short chronicle of *Edinburgh*: so that the *Irish* being the only nation of *Europe* that have publish'd none of their original ancient histories, give the publick ground to suspect that they themselves distrust their authority.

BUT whatever there may be of those pretended ancient histories or annals of *Ireland*, or *Irish* affairs, preceding the time of king *Leogaire*, in the fifth age; which Sir *James (a) Ware* tells us are *fabulous, or strangely mix'd with fabulous narrations*: and therefore he thought fit, in his account of the kings of *Ireland*, to drop them, and begin the series of the kings of *Ireland* no higher than from this *Leogaire*: at least, as for that part of the general history of *Ireland* that concerns the transactions since the time of *St. Patrick*, as I doubt not but the writers of it may, according to their more or less antiquity, fidelity, and judiciousness, be relied on, as well as the historians of like qualifications in other countries: so I cannot help renewing here the wishes which I made in the beginning of this chapter, that they would publish their more certain chronicles and annals; it being, as it appears to me, a very great oversight in them, and may prove very hurtful to the true history of the *Irish* nation; that this only certain part of it

(a) War. Antiq. Hybern. c. 4. p. 20.

is left so long in obscurity, exposed to all the accidents to which histories, never yet published, are liable: so that there being but a few copies, and sometimes one single copy of them, they are frequently all at once irrecoverably lost: it is a great oversight, that among so many able and well qualified men that country produceth, skilled in the *Irish* tongue, none of them hath hitherto published their original histories, with faithful translations, into *Latin*, that being the only sure means to preserve them to posterity, and to give credit to the citations drawn from them.

SUCH among others, that seem most worthy of being published, are said to be the chronicle of *Tigernach*, which Sir *James Ware* possessed, and is now in the duke of *Chandos's* library, which is a very ancient MS. but seems not so entire as one that is often quoted by *Flaherty*; the annals of *Innisfall*, those of *Ulster* (*Ultonienses*) so often mentioned in all the *Irish* writers; the synchronisms of *Flannus* and others, giving an account of their history, from *St. Patrick* down to the invasion of the *English* in the twelfth age, as they tell us. It were, no doubt, much for the honour and advantage of the *Irish* nation that these were made publick, thereby to hinder them from being lost, by some such accidents as they (a) inform us so many others of their historians perished in former ages.

(a) Colgan. præf. vit. MSS. Hyber.

I have insisted so much the more upon this subject, that I am persuaded that nothing could contribute more to the honour of the *Irish* nation in this critical age, than that some of their learned men would impartially consider these difficulties and objections, and such others as may be made against their remote antiquities; and either render publick such vouchers of them as may bear the test of these times; or according to the example of so many other countries, who had in former ages set up for such other high schemes of antiquity, drop them, and remove from their country the reproach of too great credulity: and instead of insisting on these uncertain accounts of so remote and dark ages, publish in a body of history, as other polite nations have done, and daily continue to do, the chronicles, and annals above-mentioned, and others that still remain, which may serve for a solid bottom to a true history of *Ireland*, since the fifth age, that would do honour to the nation.

CHAP. II.

CHAP. II.

That supposing even the certainty or probability of the ancient settlement and monarchy of the Milesians in Ireland, or in general that of the Irish remote antiquities, yet it does not follow, that these Milesians were properly Scots; but that on the contrary it seems certain, that the Scots were not settled in Ireland till about the time of the incarnation, or rather after it.

BY all that we have said in the precedent chapter, I hope it sufficiently appears, that the remote antiquities of *Ireland*, that is, the coming in of the *Milesian* colony to *Ireland* under *Heremon*, and their long succession of kings after him, during the space of twelve or thirteen hundred years before the incarnation, with the rest of the ancient facts they relate, are destitute of all those grounds and historical proofs proper to gain them credit with impartial competent judges of ancient and remote transactions of this nature; and by consequence, that no certain proof can be drawn from them, of the *Milesians*, as they call them, being settled in *Ireland* about
twelve

twelve or thirteen ages, or indeed of their being settled there at all before the incarnation of Christ.

BUT now I add further, that giving and not granting, that those remote antiquities, concerning the ancient settlement, monarchy, and succession of the *Milesian* race in general, were probable, (however uncertain they really are) the question which I here examine would not for that be determined, but still remain dubious, to wit, whether the people *properly called Scots* were settled in *Ireland* before the incarnation. I say the people *properly called Scots*, by whom I mean the predecessors of those *Scots* whose name appears in history for the first time (as we shall shew) in the third or fourth age of christianity; who coming to *Britain* generally from *Ireland*, and joining with the *Caledonians* or *Picts*, made war against the *Romans* and provincials in *Britain* in the fourth and fifth age; in a word, I mean those *Scots* of whom the *Scots* in *Britain* are descended and took their name.

FOR it might possibly have happened, that the *Milesian* race had settled in *Ireland*, as the modern *Irish* tells us, twelve or thirteen ages before the incarnation; and that there had been a succession of kings of that race, from *Heremon* downwards, (as no doubt there were most ancient inhabitants, and many kings too in *Ireland*, of old, as elsewhere;) and yet that none of all these have been properly

properly *Scots*, nor the *Scots* as yet settled in *Ireland*, but that they came only into it long afterwards, about or after the birth of Christ; and that in a body of men accustomed to war, so as to have rendered themselves masters of most part of the country, (as we see so many other nations invaded other countries in the third, fourth, and following ages after the incarnation) to have subdued the ancient inhabitants, overturned their government, and set up a new one; so that the chief leaders of this new people became the first kings of the *Scotish* race in *Ireland*, and their descendants succeeded and reigned after them, whilst their chief commanders under them became the governing party, and brought most part of the ancient inhabitants, by degrees, under subjection. Thus the *Franks* invaded the *Gauls*; [the *Goths* and *Sweves* possessed themselves of *Spain*; the *Vandals* became masters of *Africa*, the *Saxons* of the south of *Britain*.

THAT the *Scots* were not the ancient inhabitants of *Ireland* settled there about twelve or thirteen ages before the birth of Christ, but were a foreign new people, who after, or about the times of the incarnation, came in upon the ancient inhabitants of *Ireland*, and rendered themselves, by degrees, masters of them, in the same manner as the *Franks*, the *Goths*, the *Vandals*, and other foreign people came in upon, and subdued several provinces of the *Roman* empire, and by degrees incor-

incorporated themselves with them : that this was the case of the first settlement of the *Scots* in *Ireland*, is what I conceive may be shewn by such arguments, as considering the darkness we are in, for want of ancient historians, will suffice to render it at least highly probable, if not absolutely certain.

THERE are in general only two kind of proofs or arguments, by which the coming in of a new people in past ages upon the ancient inhabitants of a country, and the revolution happening upon it, can be made out. The one is the testimony of contemporary, or ancient writers : the other is drawn from the effects that naturally follow upon such an invasion and revolution.

As to the first kind of arguments, it supposes necessarily, that there are extant contemporary, or ancient writers, near the times of such a revolution : such testimonies we have from *Gildas*, *Beda*, and other ancient historians, domestick and foreign, of the *Saxons* invading the south of *Britain* : such also we have from the *Roman* writers, from *Gregory of Tours*, and other ancient monuments, of the *Franks* invading the *Gauls* in the fifth age.

WERE there extant any ancient received writers, foreign or domestick, near the times of the incarnation, that contained either the history of
Ireland,

Ireland, or at least gave us accounts of the state and inhabitants of it, and revolutions that happened in it in these early times; we might then expect to find, as I doubt not but we should, such direct proofs of the *Scots* coming into *Ireland*, as we have of the coming in of the *Franks* to the *Gauls*. But by what we have said in the preceding chapter, it appears, there is not extant any certain *domestick* history of *Ireland* in those early times, nor for any thing that hath yet appeared, till at least eight or nine ages, (if even then) after the incarnation, nor any certain account of the transactions of *Ireland*, nor any certain proof that they had even the use of letters in *Ireland*, till the fifth age, when they received christianity.

THE most ancient pieces we have now extant, believed to be written in *Ireland*, are the confession or apology of *St. Patrick* their apostle, and his letter to *Coroticus*; both published first by *Waræus*, from several very ancient MSS. and again by *Bollandus*; and they are quoted by the most ancient writers of the saint's life; as they are also by *Usher*, *Colgan*; and are generally esteemed by the learned as genuine: among others by the judicious historian *M. de Tillemont*, in his church-history, where he prefers them to all that hath been written of *St. Patrick*, and makes them the foundation of the history of that saint. All this renders indeed those pieces very valuable, and they

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furnish us with some light on the state of *Ireland* in the fifth age, when they were written; but all they contain, is some account of that saint's life, and labours in planting the gospel in *Ireland*, and of the people to whom he preached: but nothing of the history of *Ireland* in former ages.

As to foreign writers, none of them before the seventh or eighth age after the incarnation, gives us any distinct account of what passed in *Ireland*; and the little they have of it, proves rather that the *Scots* were not there in ancient times, since they are never mentioned till the third or fourth age among the inhabitants of it, as we shall presently shew.

FROM all this it clearly follows, that the first kind of proof, drawn from the testimonies of ancient writers, domestick or foreign, ought not to be expected towards fixing the time of the first settlement of the *Scots* in *Ireland*, or the finding out whether the *Scots* were the ancient inhabitants of it, or not.

BUT there is a second kind of proof or argument, drawn from the usual effects with which such a revolution, as the coming in of a new and foreign people upon ancient inhabitants, would be naturally followed; and this kind of proof, as it is the only one by which a fact of this kind, in a country

country so destitute of all ancient historians as *Ireland*, can be cleared; so I conceive that it can be made out by proofs of this nature, sufficient to satisfy all impartial judges, that the *Scots* were not the ancient inhabitants of *Ireland*, and in possession of it twelve or thirteen ages, or indeed before the incarnation at all; but were a new foreign people, who about, or rather after, the birth of Christ, came to *Ireland* as conquerors, and rendered themselves masters of it, in the same manner as the *Franks* came in afterwards on the *Gauls*, and as other foreign nations invaded and subdued other provinces.

To apply this proof to the *Scots* in *Ireland*, we need only observe the marks and characters which the earliest or surest writers, or other ancient monuments furnish us with, of the *Scots* at their first appearance in history, and in the times immediately following their being first mentioned in *Ireland* and *Britain*; and compare these marks, with the first appearances and beginnings of other conquering nations, in the several countries which they invaded, and in which they settled; and in particular with the *Franks* settling amongst the *Gauls*, because we have a more distinct account of them: and we shall see the same marks and characters of the *Scots* being not the ancient inhabitants of *Ireland*, but a new and foreign people come into it about the first ages of christianity,

anity, as appear in the *Franks*, in the beginning of their settlement among the *Gauls*.

1°. THO' we had no distinct account from undoubted history and records, that the settlement of the *Franks* in *Gaul* was in the fourth or fifth age, yet it would be sufficiently evident, that their settlement was no sooner, by this, that we never meet, in any ancient history or record, with any people, settled amongst the *Gauls* before the fourth or fifth age, called by the name of *Franks*; and that since the fifth and sixth age, all writers make mention of the *Franks* as inhabitants of *Gaul*. In like manner, tho' we have no ancient history that gives us a distinct account of the *Scots* coming into *Ireland*, and settling there only in the first ages of christianity; yet it appears an undoubted proof, that the settlement of the *Scots* in *Ireland* can be placed no earlier than the time of the incarnation, or after it; that the name of *Scots* was never heard of in *Ireland*, or indeed at all, till the third or fourth age after Christ; and that they are ever afterwards mentioned as inhabitants of *Ireland*, or of the north of *Britain*.

ALL ancient writers, before the third or fourth age, of whatever country, never called the inhabitants of *Ireland* but *Hyberni*, *Hyberione*, &c. and what is most remarkable, *Ptolomy* the geographer, in the first or second age, tho' he names about twenty different people inhabitants of *Ireland*, never mentions

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the *Scots* among them, nor indeed at all. And as for the country of *Ireland*, I never find it called by any writer, before the seventh age, but *Hybernia*, *Ierne*, *Iris*, *Britannia minor*; and the name of *Scots* is never once heard of, or mentioned by any writer before the third age, as bishop *Usher* grants. I might add, that we do not find the name of *Scots* in any writer now extant, before *Ammian Marcellin* in the fourth age, tho', I doubt not, but the name is more ancient, and may have been mentioned in writers that are now lost.

BUT as to the passages of the pretended *Bengorion* and *Egesippus*, quoted by *Usher*, both *Usher* himself, and all good criticks, agree that they are passages of authors much posterior to the times in which those writers lived. And as to the passage, *Scoticæ gentes*, &c. cited by the same *Usher*, from *St. Jerome*, as being taken from *Porphyrius*, (tho' even allowing it, it would not reach beyond the end of the third age) this passage is not of *Porphyrius*, but *St. Jerome's* own, in his letter to *Ctesiphont*, written only after the year 412. That this passage is not *Porphyrius's*, but *St. Jerome's* own; the epithet he gives there to *Britannia*, of *fertilis provincia tyrannorum*, seems to demonstrate. For when *Porphyrius*, about *A. D.* 267, wrote the book against the christian religion, to which *St. Jerome* alludes in that passage, there had scarce till then appeared from *Britain* any considerable tyrant, or usurper

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against the empire; whereas, betwixt that year 267 and 412, when St. *Jerome* wrote that letter to *Ctesiphont*, there had risen in *Britain* no less than seven tyrants or usurpers; to wit, *Carausius*, *Alectus*, *Maximus*, *Marcus*, *Gratian*, *Constantin*, and *Gerontius*; these four last one after another, a few years before St. *Jerome* wrote, which made him call *Britannia* deservedly fertile of tyrants or usurpers: so it appears, that this passage is St. *Jerome's* own, and not of *Porphyrius*, and of consequence written after *A. D.* 412.

THE first time then that we find the *Scots* mentioned in any ancient author yet known, is in *Ammian Marcellin*, towards the latter end of the fourth age. All former writers that we can find, who mention *Ireland*, or its inhabitants, never call them but *Hybèrni*, and the country *Hybernia*, *Iris*, &c. and never once mention the *Scoti* among its inhabitants: such are *Cæsar*, *Diodor the Sicilian*, *Strabo*, *Mela*, *Ptolomy*, *Tacitus*, *Pliny*, *Solinus*. All these and other writers, who speak of *Ireland*, some of them give a short description of it, and the names of its inhabitants; but none of them ever mentions the *Scots*. And this universal silence of all writers, before the fourth age, that spoke of *Ireland*, seems a sufficient proof alone, that the *Scots* were not of a much older settlement there; especially when it's considered, that all those that speak of *Ireland* after the fourth age, never fail to mention the *Scots* as inhabitants of it: such are next

to *Ammian*, *Claudian*, *St. Jerome*, *Orosius*, *Gildas*, and others in the fifth and sixth ages.

2°. THE *Franks*, before their first settlement amongst the *Gauls*, appear in history as a people unsettled, roving up and down, and seeking fixed habitations, for about two hundred years before *Clovis*, who gave the first form to their monarchy, and gave them a fixed establishment amongst the *Gauls*: so also the first account that *Ammian* gives of the *Scots*, is as of an unsettled people at least in *Britain* (a): *Scoti per diversa vagantes*.

3°. UPON the settlement of the *Franks* among the *Gauls*, two people appear thenceforth in history as the mixed inhabitants of the same country, the *Galli* and the *Franci*: the first as the ancient; the second as new inhabitants, not heard of before. In like manner in *Ireland*, in the fourth and fifth age, two sorts of people appear as the mixed inhabitants of that island, the *Hyberni* and the *Scoti*: the first as the ancient inhabitants known in all ages before; the second, to wit, the *Scoti*, appear on a sudden as a new people, never heard of in *Ireland* till then.

4°. THOUGH the *Galli* and *Franci* appear as mixed inhabitants of *Gaul*, yet in the first ages after the settlement of the *Franci*, they are distin-

(a) *Ammian*. lib. 27.

guished from the *Galli* by their qualities as well as by their name. The *Franci*, as being masters, or conquerors, or the military men, appear as the nobility and gentry; whereas the *Galli*, or Gauls, the ancient inhabitants, appear as the *Coloni*, or Commons, as being subject to the former: of all which, the learned *M. Du (a) Cange*, who makes this observation, gives us many proofs from ancient records. So after the settlement of the Scots in *Ireland*, though the *Scoti* and *Hyberni* appear in the fifth age as common inhabitants of that Island, yet they appear distinguished by their qualities as well as by their names. The *Scoti*, as being the conquerors, masters and military men, appear as the nobility or gentry, in the confession or apology of *St. Patrick*, (written by him (b) in the fifth age, and so the ancientest piece we have written in *Ireland*) *Filii (c) Scotorum & filie Regulorum*; which he repeats over again in his letter to *Coroticus*, joining, in both places, the *Scotti* and *Reguli* as being synonymous equivalent terms; and again, *Una benedicta Scota nobilis*, &c. adding generally to the name *Scottus*, that of *Reguli*, or *Nobilis*: whereas he never calls the native *Irish* in those pieces, but *Hyberionæ*, or *Hybernigenæ*, as being the commons and ordinary people.

(a) Du Cange Glossar. to 2. col. 522, &c. ad vocem *Franc.*

(b) Ub. supr. pag.

(c) Confessio S. Patricii apud Bolland. ad 17. mart. n. 18. & epist. ad Coroticum n. 6.

M. de Tillemont (a), in his *Life of St. Patrick*, takes notice of this distinction, after *F. Bollandus* (b).

THE Inhabitants of *Gaul*, before the *Franks* settled among them, lived most part quietly under the empire, except when forced to take arms against the many barbarous nations that over-run them, or when they were obliged to take part in the schisms or divisions of the empire; and we do not read, that in those times the *Gauls*, of themselves, took up arms out of ambition to invade or conquer their neighbour countries: but no sooner had the new nation of the *Franks* settled among them, but we find them every year in a warlike posture, ready to invade the neighbouring provinces, and enlarge their dominions.

IN like manner we have no certain account, that the old inhabitants of *Ireland* used, in ancient times, to come over and invade the *Britains*, before the coming in of the *Scots* to *Ireland*; and it appears, by what *Tacitus* (c) writes from his father-in-law *Agricola's* relation of them in *Domitian's* time, that they were little accustomed to the use of arms, and so far from making inroads on the *Britains* of the north, or *Caledonians*, that the *Irish* were much inferior to them in military valor; since *Tacitus* tells us, that *Agricola* had often asserted to him, that with one legion, and a few auxiliary troops, *Ireland* might have been con-

(a) Tillemont, hist. ecclef. to 16. p. 453.

(b) Boland. ubi supra.

(c) Tacit. Vit. Agric. f. 233. n. 24.

quered and possessed : whereas we see, in the same book of *Tacitus*, that the *Caledonians* were able to dispute their ground with a powerful army of the *Romans*, supported by auxiliaries, and commanded by so able a general as *Agricola*. So that in all appearance, in those ancient times, the *Irish* were accustomed to no foreign wars, nor had any ambition to make invasions or conquests without themselves. *Eumenius* seems indeed to suppose, that the *Britains* had wars with the *Irish*, as well as with the *Picts* ; but he doth not tell us, whether the *Britains* made inroads on the *Irish* in their own country, or the *Irish* came over to invade the *Britains*.

BUT at the very first appearance of the name of *Scots* in history, we find them in arms, come over in warlike expeditions to *Britain*, joined with the *Picts*, invading the *Roman* empire, over-running the provincials, and giving work enough to the *Roman* legions ; inspiring the same warlike temper into the old *Irish*, till, by degrees, the strength of the *Scots* came over and settled in *North-Britain*, where they continued ever after in the same warlike temper ; and being by degrees united into one people with the *Picts* of the *Caledonian* blood, gain ground upon the *Saxons*, maintain their country against the *Danes*, who had vanquish'd the *Saxons*, and for many ages (except when divided among themselves) defend

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their country and liberty, against the united force of their powerful neighbours.

6°. THE country of the *Gauls* retained still the old name of *Gallia*, and it alone, for a considerable time after the *Franks* had settled, and were generally masters of it: and it was only afterwards, and by degrees, that the kingdom of the *Franks*, amongst the *Gauls*, was called by the new name of *Francia*, from these new inhabitants. St. Gregory the Great, about the end of the sixth age, is believed to be the first that gives to *Gaul*, or rather the kingdom of the *Franks* amongst the *Gauls*, this new name of *Francia*: but after him, *Gaul*, at least the kingdom of the *Franks* there, is indifferently called *Gallia* or *Francia*, from the new and old inhabitants. In like manner, (and this appears to me a decisive argument for what I am here proving) *Ireland* retained still the old name of *Hybernia*, or *Ierne*, in all writers, long after the *Scots* were settled there, as we see by *Orosius*, *Claudian*, and other writers of the fifth and sixth age; who, whilst they call the inhabitants indifferently *Scotti* or *Hyberni*, never call the country but *Hybernia*, *Ierne*, &c. And it was only by degrees that it got the new name of *Scotia*, from the new inhabitants the *Scots*, but still retained the old name of *Hybernia*.

St. LAURENCE, archbishop of *Canterbury*, in the beginning of the seventh age, is the first that

I find who gives to *Ireland* the name of *Scotia*, in his letter mentioned by *Bede* (a) to the bishops and clergy of that kingdom, After him *Isidore*, in the same age, and *Adamnan* in *St. Columba's* life; and from thenceforth it is called, for some ages, indifferently *Hybernia* or *Scotia*, as *Synonymous* names from the old and new inhabitants; till at last it quite lost the name of *Scotia*, which followed the *Scots* into *Britain*, and was by degrees wholly appropriated to the kingdom of the *Scots*, in the north of that island.

Now I would willingly ask, wherefore *Ireland* should have taken, in the sixth or seventh age, the new name of *Scotia*, never heard of before, unless it was from a new people of that name settled among them? since we see, in all histories and countries, that the ordinary occasion or cause of all other countries taking a new name, was from new inhabitants settling in them. Thus the *Gauls* took the name of *Francia*; a part of *South Gaul*, that of *Gothia*; other parts those of *Burgundia*, *Normannia*, &c. *South Britain*, those of *Saxonia* and *Anglia*; a part of *Italy*, *Longobardia*, and the northern parts of *Britain*, the name of *Scotia*: all of them from new inhabitants bearing those names. In fine, the *Irish* writers make use of this as an argument to prove (b) that the *Scots*

(a) Bed. lib. 2. c. 4.

(b) Usser. Britan. Eccles. Antiquit. p. 380, 381, 382, &c.

in *Britain* were of much later standing there than the modern *Scottish* historians will have them; that the name of *Scotia* is not given to *Scotland*, or the north of *Britain*, but in later ages.

AND now to conclude. By all I have said in this chapter, I hope it sufficiently appears that the *Scots*, properly so called, are not originally the same race of people with the first and ancient inhabitants of *Ireland*, but a distinct people that came into *Ireland* only after the time of the incarnation; since they bear so visibly, in the fourth age, as much the same character of new inhabitants of *Ireland*, as the *Franks*, or any other of the many conquering nations of these ages, bear the character of new inhabitants in the several countries which they invaded, and possessed themselves of.

As to the objections that may be made against what is here proved, that the *Scots* were a new and foreign people that came into *Ireland* only since the incarnation, and were not the ancient inhabitants of that island; these objections may be reduced to two heads, to wit, 1°. Those drawn from the pretended ancient MSS. monuments of the history of *Ireland*; such as are said to be the book of *Tara*, *Psaltar Cashel*, their poets, bards, and other domestick writers. 2°. Those taken from *British* or other foreign writers, which (a) has been mentioned already, as being no less favour-

(a) *Supra*, sect. 1. c. 2. p. 184.

able to the high antiquities of the *Scots* in *Britain*, than to those of the *Milefians* in *Ireland*.

As to the first, to wit, the pretended ancient *Irish* histories, we have treated of them at full length in the former chapter; and by exposing the difficulties and objections made against them, have shewn how little they are to be relied upon, or rather how groundless they are in all that they relate of what past in *Ireland*, especially before the time of the incarnation.

I easily foresee, that one of the greatest objections that can be made against what hath been proved in this chapter, by those writers that are still attached to the remote antiquities of *Ireland*, will be drawn from their genealogies; which, as they are set down by *Keating*, *O Flaherty*, *Dr. Kenedy*, &c. are carried up from king *Loegaire*, in *St. Patrick's* time, to *Heremon*, son to *Milefius*; and thence up to *Noah* and *Adam*.

BUT I desire, in the first place, that it be considered, that the pretended ancient genealogies of *Ireland* were not grounded and proved, as those of modern times, by any publick or private acts or documents: for as to the committee of nine, and the other pretended regulations upon these matters, attributed to some of their ancient kings and parliaments, or assemblies of *Tara*, all these must still remain as dubious, and as likely to have been the fabrick of more modern ages, as the genealogies

gies themselves, and the rest of the detailed accounts of their other remote antiquities, till such credible documents of them appear, as have never yet been published. And in particular, that their genealogies were not invented till they had the knowledge of the holy scriptures, (after the gospel was preached in *Ireland*) appears by their carrying them up to *Noah* and *Adam*.

2°. THAT all the credit of these genealogies depended wholly upon that of the bards or seana-chies, whose character we have seen: now when once these genealogies passed the memory of the present age, or a part of the former, that is, five or six generations, they could neither be proved true, nor disproved, or convinced of forgery; for these genealogies consisting barely of single names, joined together by the word *Mac*, without any proof, the drawing them up required no more skill than to collect names already in use, or invent new ones, sufficient in number to carry up the genealogy of the person, whom they intended to gratify, from his father or grandfather, or such of his predecessors whose names were as yet recent in the memory of men, till former ages, when no body could contradict; and so upwards, till they grafted the name at last on some branch of the genealogies already composed, (in case any such were) which led up to *Milesius*; whence, by former bards, the degrees were carried up to
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Noah. There was in our own time a *Scotish* gentleman, of an ancient family, (*Urquhart* of *Cromarty*) who took a fancy to draw up his pedigree, from age to age, up to *Noah* and *Adam*, and caused it to be printed by the title of *Pantocbronocanon*; (a) or, *Pedigree of the name of Urquhart of Cromarty, from the creation of the world, until the present year of Christ 1652.* I have seen the book, with many others, useful to this work, by the favour of the honourable *Archibald Campbel*, in his curious collection of rare books.

Now it could not fail, but the first bards or seanachies that invented the *Irish* genealogies, being ignorant of letters, and more yet of chronology, would naturally exceed in the number of degrees or descents, having no certain rule by which they could govern themselves; and so it happened: when afterwards there arose among them bards or seanachies that had some knowledge of history or chronology, they found themselves obliged to make considerable retrenchments of the number and names of their genealogies, and so by degrees reduced them; till at last *M. O Flaherty*, one of the most learned of their modern writers, comparing them with the scripture-genealogies, makes a new reformation of them, and cuts off a number of them to make them agree with the

(a) *London*, printed for *Rich. Baddely*, within the *Middle-Temple*, A. D. 1652.

longest genealogy set down by St. *Luke*, as we have elsewhere observed (a).

As to the second kind of objections, that is, those taken from the *British* historians, the only objections worth the taking notice of, are those that may be drawn from *Bede*, or *Nennius*; and first as to *Bede*, (b) he supposes indeed that the *Picts* found the *Scots* in *Ireland*, when they, the *Picts*, first came into *Britain*, which was certainly, as hath been shewn (c) elsewhere, long before the time of the incarnation. But 1°. it is to be observed, that *Bede* in that same place seems equally to suppose, that the *Scots* came before *Julius Caesar's* time, or at least before the *Romans* were well established, from *Ireland* to *Britain*; so that none of these learned criticks, and especially the *Irish*, who reject the early settlement of the *Scots* in *Britain*, notwithstanding of the authority of *Bede*, can press his authority for the early settlement of the *Scots* in *Ireland*, from his mentioning of the *Scots* in that Island, when the *Picts* came in. 2°. It appears by *Bede's* never mentioning the *Caledonians*, but calling the northern inhabitants of *Britain* by the name of *Picts*, at their first entry to the island, that he took his accounts of the ancient inhabitants of the *North* of *Britain*, and of *Ireland*, rather from the relation of

(a) Supra pag. 486.

(b) Bed. l. 1. c. 1.

(c) Supra Book I. chap. 3. art. 1.

those of his own time, than from ancient monuments of history ; hence he calls the most ancient inhabitants by the same names that they bore in his own time. Thus with him, the first inhabitants of the *Northern* parts of *Britain* are called *Piſti* ; so likewise the inhabitants of *Ireland*, called sometimes *Scoti* in *Bede's* time, are called *Scoti* by him at the first entry of the *Piſts* to *Britain*.

3°. IT may have happened, that the stories of the *Irish* seanachies, concerning the early coming in of the *Scots* to *Ireland* before the time of the incarnation, were already begun to be broached, and perhaps spread and believed by several among the *Irish* and *Scots*, in *Bede's* time, that is, in the eighth age ; so no wonder if *Bede*, who took his accounts of *Ireland* from the *Irish*, or from the *Scots* with whom he conversed, believed upon their telling him so, that the *Scots* were already inhabitants of *Ireland* and *Scotland* before *Julius Cæsar's* time, or rather, before the *Romans* were fully established in *Britain*.

WHAT may have probably given occasion to the first broaching those stories of the early settlement of the *Scots* in *Ireland* by the bards, and to their gaining credit among the *Irish* and *Scots*, was, that the *Scots* coming into *Ireland* in a body of men accustomed to war, and rendring themselves, by degrees, masters of the ancient inhabitants, as the *Franks* did of a part of the *Gauls* ; the *Scots* became soon the governing party in *Ireland*

Ireland, and by the third or fourth age were become the leading men, and possessed of the sovereignty and chief places of power, and by consequence had the dispensation of all favours and rewards; and that alone was a strong temptation to such men as were the bards, accustomed to flatter and cry up all that came to be in power, and able to reward them, to ascribe to the leading men among the *Scots*, ancient genealogies and far fetched pedigrees, or to graft them on the genealogies of the ancient inhabitants, in case any such were already contrived: and this was the more easy to succeed, and obtain credit in such ignorant times, that after four or five ages of settlement in *Ireland*, and twelve or fifteen generations, the time of the coming in of the *Scots* was begun to be forgotten, and they to be looked upon as ancient inhabitants: besides that, the *Scots* were, by that time, so intermixed as one body of people with the ancient natives, that what belonged to these last, was more easily and imperceptibly attributed to the *Scots*. There are but too many examples of fabulous stories and inventions creeping into history, and gaining, in less time, an almost universal credit in countries and ages much more polished than *Ireland* was in those times.

WHAT we have said here may also, in a great measure, serve to answer another specious objection against the *Scots* first coming into *Ireland*, only about, or after the times of the incarnation: this

this objection is drawn from what hath been elsewhere (a) observed, of the order in which (b) *Bede* seems to place or rank the first settlement or coming in of the ancient inhabitants of *Britain*: first the *Britains*, next the *Picts*, in the third place the *Scots*; and after mentioning of the *Scots*, he speaks of the *Romans* coming in; and last of all of the *Saxons*. By this it would appear, that in *Bede's* opinion the *Scots* came in to *Britain* before the *Romans*; and that by consequence, they must have been settled in *Ireland* some time before, since it is supposed that the *Scots* came at first into *Britain*, immediately from that island.

THIS indeed would appear to have been *Bede's* opinion; and it proves very well, that the *Scots* were esteemed, in *Bede's* time, to have been ancient inhabitants of *Britain*, and not lately come into it, in the fifth or sixth ages, as some *English* writers pretend: for there's no appearance, that *Bede* could have attributed so ancient a settlement to a people, who had been but about two hundred years in the island; since besides that by the fifth age, they had the use of letters, and by consequence their accounts of themselves might be more certain, the bare tradition, from father to son, of their coming into *Britain* in the fifth or sixth age, would be as yet so fresh in the memory of men of the seventh and beginning of the

(a) *Supra*, p. 195.

(b) *Bed.* l. i. c. i.

eighth age, (when *Bede* wrote his history) that it seems not possible, that he could have been misinformed, or so grossly mistaken, as to suppose they came in above seven hundred years before.

BUT we must reason very differently upon supposition of the *Scots* coming in from *Ireland* to *Britain*, four or five hundred years before *Bede* wrote his history; that is, about the beginning of the third age of christianity, (which we shall have occasion elsewhere to examine) and that they came in by degrees, and in times, when the use of letters was not yet received, either in the northern parts of *Britain*, or in *Ireland*; where, by consequence, all the knowledge of past transactions depended on the credit of their bards. In this supposition, the question being about an antiquity of settlement or possession, (which all nations, the more they are ignorant, endeavour to carry the higher, and to over-reach their neighbours) it was no hard matter for their bards to have advanced two or three ages, the first coming in of the *Scots* to *Britain*, and to have introduced among them, before *Bede* wrote his history, the opinion of their being come over to *Britain* before the time that the *Romans* entered it.

THIS seems so much the more likely, that the bards in *Ireland* having begun before *Bede's* time, to raise the settlement of the *Scots* in that island to a much higher antiquity than it was in effect,
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the bards among the *Scots* in *Britain*, being men of the same genius, could scarce fail to imitate those of *Ireland*, and to carry up the first settlement of the *Scots* in *Britain* to more ancient times; and the later end of the sixth age, or beginning of the seventh, was a proper time for that, when the kingdom of the *Scots* in *Britain*, especially during king *Aidan's* reign, had begun to make a more considerable figure in the island.

AND it would appear, that this advancing the settlement of the *Scots* in *Britain* was so much the more easy to be done, that they came not over at first in great bodies of men, but in small numbers, insensibly, and by degrees; first to the nearest islands, and thence, as their number increased, to the western coasts of the main-land of *Britain*, which the *Caledonians* or *Picts* yielded with less difficulty to them, in order to have them for auxiliaries in their wars with the *Romans* and provincial *Britains*.

THUS the time of the first coming of the *Scots* to *Britain*, not being remarkable by any considerable event or revolution, it was the sooner forgotten: so that after nine or ten generations had passed in so dark ages, when there was no learning in those parts, nor any records kept of past transactions, it was certainly much more easy for the bards of those times to raise the first settlement of the *Scots* in *Britain* to a much higher an-

tiquity, than it was in effect for posterior writers of the fifteenth or sixteenth age, in times of light and learning, to multiply their kings of the *Scotish* line, and to impose upon the nation, so as to have it received, and generally believed, a new scheme of antiquities, detailed into particular facts, with a new genealogy, and a new series of ancient kings; as we have already proved that it happened.

AND if an emulation, not to be behind in the antiquity of monarchy with the kings of *England*, particularly with king *Edward I.* who valued himself upon an ancient succession of kings in the *British* race, down from *Brutus*, *Lochrinus*, &c. contributed not a little, as it will afterwards appear, to raise in the *Scots*, in the beginning of the fourteenth age, the first notions of ancient kings of the *Scotish* line, before the times of the incarnation; it is very likely, that the like emulation with the *Picts*, or a view not to be inferior to them in so honourable a privilege, as that of an ancient establishment, or ancient possession, gave occasion to the *Scotish* bards, about the seventh age, to advance the antiquity of the settlement of the *Scots* in *Britain* beyond the time of the incarnation. That this emulation, or vying with the *Pict* contributed to it, is the more likely, that, as we have elsewhere (a) observed, the *Scots*

(a) *Supra*, p. 125, 126, &c.

at last, after they came to be masters of the *Pictish* kingdom, carried this emulation so far, as to pretend to have been established in *Britain* as early as, or even before the *Picts* themselves.

Now supposing that the settlement of the *Scots*, both in *Ireland* and in *Britain*, had been thus advanced by the bards of each country to more ancient times before *Bede* wrote his history in the eighth age, there is no doubt but what he relates, of the *Scots* coming to *Britain* before the *Romans* entered it, was upon the information of some of the natives that gave credit to those new schemes of the bards.

I know some of the learned among the *English* and *Irish* writers, give a different interpretation to this passage of the first chapter of *Bede's* history, and pretend that the *Scots* coming into *Britain* before the *Romans* doth not follow from it; and so it is no wise contrary to what I have endeavoured to prove in this chapter, to wit, that the settlement of the *Scots* in *Ireland* was not before the time of the incarnation. But I cannot help thinking that the interpretation, that these learned writers put upon *Bede's* passage, seems forced; and have therefore chosen rather to endeavour to find out, by probable conjectures, the true occasion of *Bede's* advancing this paradox, than to elude the difficulty by an evasion.

As for the passages of *Nennius* the *British* writer, which seem to favour the remote antiquities of *Ireland*, and which we have elsewhere set (a) down, it is evident by *Nennius*, that these remote antiquities were already begun to be hatched by the bards before his time; but as yet only in a confused mass, very different from the more regular order into which they were afterwards digested by more skilful hands. Nor were the inventions of the bards in *Nennius's* time, that is, in the ninth age, raised as yet to that height of antiquity by many hundred years, to which the fertile genius of the *seanachies* have, in posterior ages, advanced them.

FOR, according to the reckoning of *Nennius*, who informs us that he had his accounts from the most learned of the *Scots* or *Irish*, (*a peritissimis Scotorum*) the first coming in of the *Scots* to *Ireland* was only about six hundred years before the incarnation; whereas the later *seanachies* have raised their settlement, and beginning of their monarchy in *Ireland*, some of them two thousand years, others thirteen hundred before the incarnation: so that *Nennius*, far from adding any force to the story of these remote antiquities, serves rather to derogate from their credit, by shewing the variations and novelty of their schemes of an

(a) *Supra*, p. 193.

ancient settlement and monarchy in the *Milesian* race ; as it hath been elsewhere (a) observed.

HAVING now shewn that the *Scots* are not the ancient inhabitants of *Ireland*, but a foreign people come in upon the ancient inhabitants, only about or since the time of the incarnation ; before we enter upon the examination of the precise time of their first settlement in the north of *Britain*, it remains to enquire of what origine they were, and whence they came at first into *Ireland*.

CH A P. III.

Of the origine of the Scots ; of their name, and of the time of their settlement in Ireland.

THE obscurity in which the origine and remote antiquities of all the northern nations are involved, arises from their wanting all domestick monuments of ancient history, and for the most part even the use of letters, till they were polished, either by being subjected to the *Roman* empire or by the light of christianity. This we have shewn in particular, was, in all appearance, the case of *Ireland*, till about the time the gospel

(a) *Supra*, p. 496, 497.

was preached there in the fifth age: so till that time we can expect no certain accounts of the revolutions that happened among the *Irish*, no more than of other barbarous nations without the *Roman* empire, or which did not border upon, or interfere with it. And far from finding any account of the *Scots* in the first ages of christianity, their name is not so much as once to be met with in history, or in any of the ancient descriptions of the world left us by *Strabo*, *Mela*, *Ptolemy*, *Pliny*, or any other of the ancient geographers; nor is the name of *Scots* ever so much as once mentioned till the third or fourth age, as hath been (a) already shewn.

So in this enquiry into their origine, or the time of their coming into *Ireland*, the only light we must walk by, is what may be borrowed by probable conjectures, grounded upon such accounts as the *Roman* writers give us of the state of the several barbarous nations in the neighbourhood of *Ireland* in the first ages of christianity.

AND first, as to the name of *Scots*; tho' it be no where to be met with, as it is now written and pronounced, before the third or fourth age, yet it can scarce be questioned, but originally it is the same as that of the *Scyths*; there being a visible resemblance betwixt the names of *Scythæ* and *Scoti*, and only some difference in the pronunciation,

(a) Supra, p. 513, 514, &c.

very usual in the names of ancient nations, according to the different accent or pronunciation of the several people that spoke or wrote of them. Thus as *Getbi Gethicus*, are the same as *Gothi Gothicus*; so also from *Scythæ Scythicus*, come *Scoti Scoticus*. These are (a) *Walsingham*, an *English* writer's words; and before him (b) *Radulfus de Diceto*, dean of *London*, makes the same observation. *Nennius* (c), in the ninth age, uses promiscuously the names of *Scythæ* and *Scoti* for the same people; and *Gildas* (d), in the sixth age, calls *Scythica vallis*, the passage through which the *Scots* used to invade the provincial *Britains*. The *Germans* to this day call both *Scyths* and *Scots* by the same name *Scutten*.

BUT what is most remarkable, the *Britains* in their ancient tongue, (as (e) *Camden* observes) call both the nations of *Scyths* and *Scots* by the same name *X-scot*. I say this denomination of the *Britains* is most remarkable of all, because the *Britains*, on the first appearance of that new people in *Britain*, giving them the name of *X-scot* or *Scot*, whether from their being originally *Scyths*, or rather from their resembling the *Scyths* by their habit, arms, and customs, gave a natural occasion

(a) *Walsingham Ypodigma Neustria*, p. 552.

(b) *Rad. de Diceto inter X. scriptores Angl. col. 627.*

(c) *Nennius*, cap. 10.

(d) *Gildas*, c. 15.

(e) *Camden Scoti*.

to the *Romans*, than in possession of the south of *Britain*, to *Latinize* the name of these new enemies of the empire, and call them *Scoti*: and thus the origine of the name is not from the *Scots* themselves, or the *Irish*, (in whose ancient language it was never in use, nor is it among our *Scotish Highlanders* to this day, at least among the vulgar) but a foreign denomination given them by the *Britains*, and from them by the *Romans*, and those that spoke or wrote in the *Latin* tongue.

THIS occasion and rise of the name of *Scots*, furnishes a very probable conjecture of the country of their origine, whence they came at first to *Ireland*. In order to make this discovery, we are, in the first place, to find a people lying towards *Ireland*, called by the name of *Scyths*, or using their customs, habit, and arms. 2°. We are to find such a people in a motion and circumstances proper for a transmigration to *Ireland*, in the first ages of christianity. And we are furnished by the *Roman* writers with people under all these circumstances in *Scandia*, to the north of *Ireland*, and in *Cantabria* to the south of it; both the most proper places to invade *Ireland*, and a people in both these countries under these circumstances, which used to put them on seeking out new habitations, and that precisely in the first ages of christianity.

AND

AND first as to *Scandia*, or the ancient *Chersonesus Cymbrica*, now including the kingdoms of *Norway*, *Denmark*, &c. it hath been already observed, speaking of the *Piſts*, that all these countries, to the extremity of the northern continent, were called by the (a) ancients *Scythia*, and the inhabitants called *Scyths*. And they are called by (b) *Jornandes*, *Officina Gentium*, the workhouse of nations; because of the great multitudes that have, like an inundation, spread themselves from thence into most of the countries of *Europe*.

IT is also to be observed, that those northern nations, (among whom I comprehend not only those of *Scandia*, but all without the furthest limits of the empire, and beyond what is now called *Flanders*) were all (c) subject to frequent changes of dwellings; 1°. Because of their extraordinary multiplying, which put them under a necessity of changing their habitations, and dilating themselves, as their number increased; and their houses or cottages being only for a day's service, made them easily abandon their homes. 2°. Because there being no other law among them, than that of the strongest, they were often constrained to abandon their habitations to a greater

(a) Diodor. Sic. l. 6. c. 7. Strabo, p. 507. Plin. l. 6. c. 13.

(b) Jornand. l. 1. c. 4.

(c) Strabo, p. 291, & 305.

force;

force; and being bounded by the sea, they were forced to embark to seek new dwellings.

NOW by all the best accounts that we have of these early times, there's none more likely for such a transmigration of a colony of these northern nations to *Ireland*, or to the north of *Britain*, than the interval from the reigns of *Augustus* and *Tiberius*, till the third or fourth age, in which the name of *Scots* is first heard of.

THESE northern nations, till *Julius Cæsar* conquered *Gaul*, had a fair field on the continent, to discharge their superfluous brood, the *Gauls* and *Germany* lying open to them. But from *Julius Cæsar's* time, down till the third age, *Gaul* being conquered, and the *Roman* empire being generally in its full vigour, their legions quartered all over, and upon the borders of the empire towards the north, and hemmed in the northern nations on that side; and the *Barbars* of *Germany*, being also kept in awe by the *Romans*, were forced to canton within their own territories, and so left no room for the more northern nations beyond them, to come in and settle among them.

BESIDES that, during the later end of the reign of *Augustus*, and the beginning of that of *Tiberius*, these northern nations were confined into more narrow bounds than ever before, and further pressed back: the *Roman* arms under *Drusus* and

and *Germanicus*, as *Strabo* (a), *Tacitus* (b), and *Dio* (c), relate, having penetrated among the *Cherusci* to the *Elb*, near the confines of the *Chersonesus Cymbrica* and the *Baltick* sea.

THOSE nations of the north being thus penned up by the *Romans* on this side, and having no discharge among the nations behind them, over-burthened with their own yearly increasing multitudes; it was very natural, that the most warlike and resolute among them, impatient of being thus confined and inclosed, should resolve to put to sea, to purchase new habitations: nor had they a more natural course to chuse, than to the opposite coasts of the north of *Britain*; or, if repulsed by these warlike inhabitants the *Caledonians*, to sail from thence to *Ireland*, where they were more likely to succeed among a people unaccustomed to foreign wars. Nor could their coming to *Ireland* be more seasonably placed, than during these first ages of christianity, when the *Roman* empire was at the height of its power and extent. Besides that, the placing their invasion of *Ireland* in these first ages, agrees perfectly with their first appearance in *Britain*, in the third or fourth age, by the name of *Scots*: there being some time required for their rendering themselves masters of *Ireland*, before they could be in a condition to send out

(a) *Strabo*, p. 291.

(b) *Tacit.* lib. 1.

(c) *Dio*, lib. 5.

bodies of men, able, in conjunction with the *Caledonians* or *Picts*, to attack the *Roman* empire in *Britain*, as we see by *Ammian* they did, towards the middle of the fourth century. And thus far as to the probability of the *Scots* coming into *Ireland* at first from *Scandia* and the north.

BUT after all, since the *Irish* tradition will absolutely have the inhabitants of that country come from *Spain*, it does not appear very hard to satisfy them in that: for, 1°. This tradition may regard other colonies coming to *Ireland*, whereof some may probably enough have come from *Spain* to *Ireland* before the *Scots* settled there. 2°. We may allow that the *Scots* themselves came originally from *Spain*, and yet not depart from what we have settled, about their coming in to *Ireland* only about the beginning of christianity, and from their having their name originally from the *Scythians*.

FOR we find, under the reign of *Augustus*, by *Florus* (a) and *Orosius* (b), that the *Romans* met with extreme difficulty in reducing the *Cantabrians*, and *Asturians*, with other unconquered nations of *Galicia*, in the northern extremities of *Spain*, that look towards *Ireland*; and that the inhabitants of those parts, who were a very warlike people,

(a) *Florus*, l. 4. c. 12.

(b) *Orosius*, l. 6. c. 24.

and

and never as yet subdued, chose rather, for the most part, to retire to the hills and rocks, and to the most desert and remote places, than to lose their liberty and submit to the *Roman* yoke.

IT is true, that *Florus* and *Orosius*, who give an account of this *Cantabrian* war, do not expressly inform us, that any colony of the *Galicians* left *Spain* on this occasion, to seek a foreign habitation; but what they relate of their aversion to submit to, and live under the *Romans*, of the extremities they chose to be reduced to, rather than to part with their liberty, makes it very credible, that the most valiant of them would rather have abandoned their habitations, and seek out new ones, than submit themselves to the *Romans*. Moreover, the passage from those parts of *Spain* to *Ireland* was very easy, they wanted not shipping, nor could they be unacquainted with *Ireland*; and that the conquest of it was not a difficult matter, the natives being so little accustomed to foreign enemies.

Now the people who inhabited those northern provinces of *Spain*, were of old descended of the *Celtes* and *Scyths*: for we meet, in those parts of *Spain*, both with the *Scythian* and *Celtick* promontories; and a part of the inhabitants were called *Celtiberi*. And whatever there may be of their origine from the *Scyths*, being hitherto an unconquered people, the retaining the manners and
arms

arms of the ancient *Scyths* and *Celtes*, might give occasion enough to the *Britains* to give them, when they first appeared in the island, the name of *Scyth* or *T-scot*. And their common name in *Spain*, which no doubt they would bring with them, being *Galleci*, or as some write it, *Callaici*, might have given occasion to their calling themselves, in their own language, *Gael* and *Gaelick*, as they pronounce it. *Pomponius Mela* (a), an author of these times, telling us that all those northern parts of *Spain*, from the *Celtick* promontory, to the river *Durius*, were inhabited by the *Celtes*; and that the *Artabri*, a people of these parts, were a *Celtick* nation, seems to prove, that though those people were also called *Scyths*, they were all nevertheless originally descended of the *Celtes*, and by consequence spoke the *Celtick* language, or a dialect of it; and the language of the ancient inhabitants of *Ireland* being also, as we observed before, another dialect of the *Celtick*, the new and old inhabitants of *Ireland* were sooner and more easily cemented together by degrees into one people, without any lasting difference in their languages.

To conclude, whencesoever the *Scots* came originally to *Ireland*, and from thence to the north of *Britain*, whether from *Scandia*, and other extremities of the north, or from *Spain*, I think what is here

(a) Pomp. Mela, l. 3. c. 1.

said may suffice to shew, with great probability, that they had their name from that of *Scyths*; whether from the *Scots* being originally of that people, or rather from their resembling the *Scyths*, on their first appearance, in their habit, armour, and customs; and that the placing their first coming in to *Ireland* no sooner than about, or after, the times of christianity, is conformable to the surest accounts that we have, in the earliest times, from the best historians, concerning the state of these countries, from whence it is most likely, that the *Scots* originally came out at first to *Ireland*, as well as to the first appearance they make in history in the fourth age, by the name of *Scots* in *Britain*.

DISSERTATION II.

Of the writers of the Scottish history, of the time of the first settlement of the Scots, and of the beginning of their monarchy in Britain.

HAVING shewn in the first dissertation, how little ground there is for all that the *Irish* writers have delivered, about the ancient settlement of the *Scots* in *Ireland* about twelve or thirteen ages before christianity; and made it appear, by all the surest lights we can find in ancient history, concerning the state of *Ireland*, that the first coming in of the *Scots* to it was, in all likelihood, either about, or even posterior to the times of the incarnation;

carnation : it follows necessarily, in the same degree of certainty, that the antiquity of the settlement of the *Scots* in *Britain*, and that of their monarchy in the *Scotish* line, must be proportionably abated. By what hath been said in the account that we have already given of the *Picts*, it hath, I hope, appeared that neither the royal family, nor the inhabitants of *Scotland*, stand in need of the remote antiquities of the *Scots* in *Britain*, to prove their antiquity beyond that of any kingdom of *Europe* : and by the discussion we have made at length, of the accounts given us by *Boece*, *Buchanan*, and their followers, of their forty kings of *Scotland*, preceding *Fergus*, the son of *Erc*, commonly called *Fergus II.* it hath, I conceive, been made evident, that the history of these forty kings can be of no service, at least, among impartial judges, to the antiquity of the *Scotish* monarchy ; and, as it is set forth by these historians, hath very much prejudiced the rights of it. This supposed, I hope that the lovers of truth, among the learned of our countrymen, will not find fault, after due examination, with the freedom that I have taken, in settling the beginning of our monarchy in the *Scotish* line, to depart from the schemes of our historians in modern ages ; and that I take, among other vouchers, for my guides, the few remains that we have of our more ancient writers.

AND therefore, in order to put what I am to treat of in a better light, it seems necessary, before

fore I enter upon the examination of the *Epoch* of the settlement of the *Scots*, and beginning of their monarchy in *Britain*, to give previously a short and distinct account of the writers of the history of *Scotland*.

So this second dissertation shall contain three chapters. In the first, I shall treat of the writers of our history. In the second, I shall examine the *Era* of the first settlement of the *Scots* in *Britain*, and of the beginning of the monarchy in the *Scottish* line. In the third, for a general answer to all objections against what is here established, I shall endeavour to give an account of the different steps and degrees by which the remote antiquities of the *Scots* grew up, by length of time, in the several hands through which they passed into the plan of history, in which they are delivered by the modern writers.

CHAPTER I.

Of the writers of the Scottish history.

I Shall reduce all that concerns the writers of the *Scottish* history to these three heads; 1°. Of the writers of our history in general. 2°. Of the many disasters befallen in past ages to the records and monuments of our history. 3°. Of the monuments of our history which yet remain.

N n 2.

ART. I.

ART. I. Of the writers of the Scottish history
in general.

IT cannot be reasonably doubted, but that the *Scots*, as well as other nations, had anciently writers of their history long before *Fordun*; and even *Stillingfleet* (a) does not doubt of that. To say nothing here of *Gildas*, who, according to the most ancient account we have of his life (b), was born at *Alcluyd*, or *Dunbarton*, in the north of *Britain*; the most ancient pieces of history, written in *Britain*, that are extant, are of authors living in *Scotland*, and who wrote before the Saxon historian *Bede*. Such are *Cumineus* and *Adamnanus*, both abbots of *Icolmkill*; who, besides other historical treatises, wrote the life of *St. Columba*, apostle of the northern *Picts*: these works are still extant, and received by all the learned; and in them are several passages, relating both to the *Pictish* and *Scottish* history, and to their civil and religious customs, the names of some of their ancient kings, and some account of their actions, above eleven hundred years ago. Nor can it be doubted, with any tolerable ground, but these same authors, or some of their successors, or other religious men in that ancient monastery of

(a) *Stillingfl. Antiq. Brit. præf. p. xvii.*

(b) The life of *Gildas* was written by a Monk of *Ruise* in *Little Brittany*, and published by *P. Mabillon Sac. Benedictin*, tom. I.

Icolmkill,

Yeolmkill, (where the kings of *Scotland* used anciently to be crowned before the union of the *Pictish* and *Scotish* kingdoms, and where they all had their burial-place till the eleventh age) it cannot be doubted, but some of the religious men of that monarchy, would record the succession, lives, deaths, and chief actions of the kings, and the more remarkable transactions of the kingdom.

THE same thing may be said of the ancient religious houses of *Abirnetby*, *Dunkeld*, *Kilrimund* or *St. Andrew's*, *Briehen*, and others. Would all these houses, where, no doubt, there were men capable to write, against the custom of all other such places, in all countries, since they had the use of letters, in contradiction to the natural inclination of mankind, leave their posterity in ignorance? Were not their religious and civil interests so interwoven with the knowledge of past, and the preservation of present transactions, that they must be supposed to have been, against common sense, unmindful of the first, not to have recorded the last? In short, such negligence and supineness among men otherwise studious and knowing, would suppose either a formed design of entailing ignorance on posterity, or the extinction of all sense of humanity. Nor needs more be said, since there cannot be the least doubt, but that the *Scots* and *Picts* had anciently writers of history, as well as other nations.

AN author of the twelfth age, contemporary to *Andrew* bishop of Catness, (who died (a) A. D. 1185) who is quoted by *Camden* (b), and is still extant: this ancient writer, in a description of *Albany*, the ancient name of *Scotland*, makes mention of our ancient histories in these words; *Legimus in historiis & chronicis antiquorum Britonum, & in gestis & annalibus antiquis Scottorum & Pictorum, &c.* (c) There were then extant chronicles and annals, containing the actions of the *Scots* and *Picts*, and these too of so long a standing, that they were esteemed ancient by an author of the twelfth age.

ART. II. Of the many disasters befallen the monuments of the Scots history in past ages.

As to the want there is at present, and in these later ages, of ancient histories, and other works of ancient writers among the *Scots*, this will not seem a considerable objection against their having had such in former times, to any who will consider the many disasters that have happened to ancient histories, MSS. and monuments, of all kinds, in our country: but it will rather seem a wonder, that we have any remains of them at all, after so general and redoubled misfortunes that have hap-

(a) Chr. Mayl. ad hunc an.

(b) Camden in Scotia.

(c) Append. num. 1.

pened to them ; 1°. By casual accidents, more frequent in *Scotland* than in most other countries of old. 2°. By a set purpose, as our historians relate, of a powerful enemy, master of the kingdom, and a formed resolution to abolish or carry off all ancient monuments, records, or documents of past transactions, especially as to our civil antiquities. 3°. By the zeal of *John Knox*, and others of his spirit, among our first reformers, equally animated, and resolved to destroy all ecclesiastical monuments.

§. 1. Of casual accidents.

AND in the first place, how great a loss of records of history and ancient monuments ensued, on the frequent invasions and ravages made by the *Danes*, in the famous monastery of *Tcolmkill*, during the ninth and tenth ages? (a) Historians reckon up no less than six different devastations of it in the tenth age: insomuch that *St. Margaret*, in the 11th, found it quite ruined, and rebuilt it a new; as (b) *Oder. Vitalis*, a contemporary historian, relates. What further destruction and loss of ancient records, over all the kingdom, happened by the wars with the *Picts*, before they

(a) Chron. Inf. Hyensis ex Colg. Triade Thaumara, p. 498.

(b) Inter cetera bona, quæ nobilis illa hera fecerit, Huenſe monasterium quod . . . tempeſtate præliorum & longa vetuſtate dirutam fuerat, fidelis regina reedificavit. *Oderic. Vital. inter Scriptores Normannia*, p. 701, 702.

had totally submitted, by the ravages of the same *Danes*, especially in times when the houses, as was ordinary in those days, and long after, were generally all of wood: which is the reason we find often in our history conflagrations, not of houses only, but of whole towns, and sometimes many towns burnt in one year; as (a) *A. D.* 1244, no less than eight of the royal burghs, without any foreign invasion, were burnt to ashes; and many others, both towns, churches, and abbeys, at other times and occasions, especially on this side of the *Forth*, by the frequent invasions of the *English*.

§. 2. Destruction of our historical monuments by king Edward I. of England.

As to the second occasion of the loss of our histories, and other ancient records and monuments, it was not by accident or casual, as at other times, but, as our other writers relate, a formed design to abolish, if possible, for ever all memory of past transactions among the *Scots*. We have already mentioned how, after the untimely death of king *Alexander III.* of *Scotland*, in the debate among the competitors, especially betwixt *John Balliol* and *Robert Bruce*, concerning the right of succession to the crown, king *Edward I.* known among the *Scots* by the surname of *Longshanks*, having got himself chosen umpire betwixt the two

(a) *Fordun*, l. 14. c. 19.

con-

contending parties; and having in that quality obtained the custody of the kingdom, and thus becoming master of all the castles and strengths thereof, in order to put in possession of it which ever of the two should be found to be next heir by law and custom, under pretext of examining the order and right of succession, according to the use and precedents in former reigns in *Scotland*, to which he soon added a new pretence of searching in the *Scotish* histories and records, for proofs of his pretended superiority over *Scotland*, he caused a search to be made over all the churches, monasteries, libraries, and archives of the kingdom, and all the histories and ancient chronicles, to be gathered up; and getting them once in his possession, together with all the publick records, he caused some of them to be carried up to *England*, and burned and destroyed the rest.

KING Edward's aim and intention in this was palpable enough, to wit, that the *Scots* being quite destitute of all certainty of past transactions, and deprived of all proofs and evidences of their just rights and privileges, as well as of the knowledge of all the brave actions of their ancestors, he might more easily enslave them, and impose what he pleased upon them, without their being in a condition to produce either history or record, to defend themselves, or dispute his pretensions. And we have too visible proofs of this destruction of our histories and records, and in consequence, of
the

the ignorance in which the *Scots* were, of the ancient state and history of the kingdom : we have, I say, too full proofs of this, in the debate and process about our independency, *A.D.* 1301, before pope *Boniface VIII.* and in the *Scotish* nobility's letter to pope *John XXII.* *A.D.* 1320.

It appears, by the *English* writers and publick records, that king *Edward's* animosity against all the titles or marks of honour, or antiquity of the monarchy of *Scotland*, carried him to take away or destroy all that could preserve the memory of its being a kingdom, such as the crown and the *Regalia* (a), the famous stone (b) chair in which our kings used to be enthroned ; and even the abbey of *Scoon* itself, where they were wont to be crowned. This same animosity he transmitted to his son *Edward II.* during whose reign we meet with repeated remarks (c) of his pressing solicitations to the pope to have that abbey destroyed, or removed elsewhere.

BUT of this searching for, destroying or carrying off our records or histories, we have ample proofs, not only in *Boece* and our other modern historians, but in writers and records, both *Scotish*

(a) Math. Westmonast. 428. n. 17, 18.

(b) Walsingham.

(c) Rymer's *Fœder.* tom. II. p. 1000, 1003, 1031, 1043.

and

and *English*, much more ancient; and some of these very times.

WE have the fullest account of it in the preface to the chronicle of *Couper*, which I have set down already, written about three hundred years ago, in these words; *At ipse (R. Edwardus) statim occasione, ut prætendebat, cognoscendi quis eorum (Bayliol an Bruce) per vetustorum grammatum indagationem, plenior in regno (Scotiæ) vindicare poterat facultatem, rimatis regni cunctis librariis, & ad manus ejus receptis authenticis & antiquatis historiarum chronicis, aliquantas secum & ad Angliam abstulit, reliquas vero flammis incinerandas despiciabiliter commisit.*

ALL the continuators of *Fordun's* history, in the fifteenth age, take notice of these searches made every where, by king *Edward's* order, for the ancient annals and chronicles of *Scotland*; among others, the continuation of *Fordun*, attributed to bishop *Elphinston* in the *Bodleian* library, gives much the same account of this enquiry as the rest; and that king *Edward* was not content to make search through *Scotland* alone, but in all places where any *Scotish* history might be found; (b) *Exquiruntur interim gesta & chronica tam in regno Scotiæ, Angliæ, Hybernæ, quam Franciæ: . . . non tantum de jure & consuetudine eorum*

(a) *Supra*, p. 205, 206.

(b) *Scotichron.* (*Elphinston*) MSS. bibl. Bodl. 1 S. c. 11.
(competitorum)

(competitorum) propter decisionem questionis inter Robertum de Broys & Joannem de Balliolo, verum etiam magis ad investigandum & inquirendum de jure regis Angliæ super subjectione regni Scotiæ. By this we see the endeavours, king Edward made to get into his hands, all chronicles and histories of Scotland; not only those within the kingdom, but those also that might be in England, Ireland, and that part of France where he was master.

FOR a further proof of the histories of Scotland in being at the time of this search, made by Edward for them, and carried to him, to be, inspected for deciding the right of the competitors; (a) *Knyghton*, an English writer, informs us expressly, that king Edward caused, a search to be made for all the chronicles in the monasteries, and in all places of the kingdom of Scotland, and caused them to be brought up to him and examined, concerning the order of succession in the preceding times, for the space of 15 reigns, or successions backwards, which reached back to the reign of king Keneth III. in the tenth age. No doubt these chronicles contained the history of the Scottish kings, from the beginning; but there was no

(a) Statimque rex (Edwardo) pro certiori fide habenda fecit quætere & examinare omnes chronicas in abbatiis cunctis locis regni (Scotiz) per datam quindecim regum Scotiz *Knyghton* inter X. scriptores Angliæ. col. 2469. n. 63.

occasion,

occasion, in the present debate betwixt the competitors, concerning the right of hereditary succession, of going farther back than to this *Keneth III.* he being the author of the law for establishing more fixedly the succession to the immediate heir, of what age soever; as all our historians (a) agree: the account of the succession of the kings, who preceded *Keneth III.* could not be so serviceable to the decision of the present case.

BUT we have an ample testimony of king *Edward's* carrying off, or destroying our records, histories, and all the ancient monuments of the kingdom, from a publick document of these very times, presented *A. D.* 1301 to pope *Boniface VIII.* in the name of the three states of the kingdom of *Scotland*, whereof I shall have occasion to give a fuller account. At present I shall only remark what they say of the want they were in of their ancient records and histories, by the havock made of them by king *Edward*; by which the *Scots* were deprived of many helps these records and titles would have furnished them in the defence of their rights and privileges: (b) *De iis autem omnibus & aliis regni Scotiæ defensionibus, libertatibus & juribus existentia monumenta publica in thesauraria regni Scotiæ, idem rex Angliæ* (*Ed-*

(a) Fordun, l. 4. c. 29.

(b) Instruções prelat. baron & conf. Scotiz contra R. Edw. ap. Scotchron. l. 8. c. 52. edit. Th. Hearne, p. 835, & 876.

wardus) cum regni Scotiæ habuit custodiam ex eadem thesauraria abstulit, & vi & metu secum in Angliam cum multis aliis bullis, cartis & munimentis regni Scotiæ, cum quibus confirmabantur regni Scotiæ privilegia memorata & libertates, &c.

ANOTHER, no less authentick document, we have, dated the 12th of *August* 1291, printed by *Prinn* (a) among his collections from the rolls. It is a precept of king *Edward's* to the keepers of *Edinburgh* castle, to deliver up all the charters, instruments, rolls and writs whatsoever, that might concern the rights of the competitors, or his own pretended title to the superiority of *Scotland*, to be carried off, and placed where he should appoint; and these to be put into the hands of five persons, two *Scots*, and three *English*; and these last to act by themselves, if the two first happened to be hindered. All which was accordingly executed; and all either lost or destroyed, or carried up to *London*; whereof the remains of our records, partly printed by *M. Rymer*, partly to be met with as yet in the tower of *London*, and archives of *Westminster*, make too evident a proof. Among others, there's in the *Cotton* library, (*Nero C. III.*) an inventory of the instruments touching the kingdom of *Scotland*, kept in the archives of *Westminster*; whereof one hath for title, *Tres sce-*

(a) *Prinn's. collect. tom. II. p. 545.*

dula

dale facientes mentionem de bullis chartis & aliis inventis in thesauro regis Scotiæ apud Edinburgh.

AND as to *Edward's* carrying up to *England* what was not destroyed of our histories; 1°. The chronicle of *Maylres*, continued till near these times, as both the subject and character of the writing manifests, and abruptly broken off a few years before king *Edward's* invasion, may be reckoned, for one proof, sufficient enough. It is still preserved in the *Cotton* library in the original MS. 2°. In the same library there are other two MSS. which contain extracts of four different chronicles of *Scotland*; the first is (*Claudius D. VII.*) and contains a collection of many extracts of different histories, whereof the fourth bears the title of *Nomina regum Scottorum qui regnaverunt post Pictos*; and this extract is written before *John Fordun's* history. This series of our kings is taken from two of our ancient chronicles compared together. The author marks their differences thus, *In alio libro sic, &c.* The other MS. is *Vitellius A. 20*, under the title of, *Historia Angliæ a Bruto ad A. D. 1348*. In the end of this collection, the author gives a chronological series of our kings that reigned since the *Picts*, with a short account of their lives, from two other *Scotish* chronicles, distinct from the former. So we see these two *English* writers had in *England* no less than four distinct books, or chronicles of *Scotland*; all much older than *Fordun*. I might also reckon, among
the

the remains of our chronicles carried up to *England*, that chronicle of *Edinburgh*, published in *Anglia Sacra*: for it cannot be doubted, but the latter part of that chronicle was written by a canon of *Holy-Rood-House*. In short, almost all that remains to us, of monuments of our civil history, antecedent to king *Edward's* I's invasion, have been found in *England*; some of which will be in particular mentioned hereafter, and inserted in the appendix.

AND how many more of this kind have been carried up, of which we have no account? As to these two extracts of our *Scotish* chronicles in the *Cotton* library, made by *English* writers, the intention of these collectors being only to extract the series of the kings of *Scotland*, from the union of the *Pictish* and *Scotish* kingdoms in one monarchy, as the title bears, they begin their extracts no farther up; tho', it is very likely, that these *Scotish* chronicles, whence they are taken, contained a compleat history, or series of our kings, from the beginning of the monarchy.

HOWEVER that be, these chronicles are now no where, that we can hear of, to be found entire; nor have we any compleat chronicle or history of our kings, from the beginning, more ancient than that of *John Fordun*.

AFTER

AFTER all, it must be considered, that king Edward was a declared enemy of the *Scottish* nation; and was, besides, animated against them by their unrelenting endeavours to shake off his yoke. Their frequent rising in arms to recover their liberty, after he had thought them totally subdued, enraged him against them, and made him resolve to destroy all marks of a kingdom, or a free nation, and all that could renew the memory of their ancient glory and independency. But we do not find that he designedly either burnt their churches or religious houses; or that, with the civil histories and records, he either carried off, or destroyed the writs, records, registers, or libraries of their churches. The destruction of these was reserved for other hands, and those too of natives of *Scotland*.

§. 3. *Destruction of historical, and of other ancient monuments, at the Scottish reformation.*

THE third loss, or destruction of ancient records, histories, and all sorts of MSS in *Scotland*, and chiefly those relating to ecclesiastical matters, was occasioned by the zeal of our first reformers in the sixteenth age. It is with reluctancy that I revive the memory of that tragedy; but I cannot but give here an account of it, in order chiefly to answer the objection drawn from the few remains that are now to be found in *Scotland*,

of records, ancient histories, and MSS. of any kind, if compared with the plenty they have still of them in *England*, notwithstanding the reformation equally made in that kingdom; from whence it is inferred, by some that are not enough acquainted with the transactions at the reformation in both kingdoms, that the scarcity which we have ever since in *Scotland* of MSS. must proceed from there having been but few of them even before the reformation, otherwise why might there not have remained after it as many ancient MSS. in *Scotland*, in proportion, as in *England*?

To answer this objection, drawn from the few remains of MSS. we have since the reformation, it is sufficient to expose the plain matter of fact, from protestant writers, who lived at or near that time; and, in the first place, to observe the vast difference there was as to records and MSS. betwixt the method by which the reformation was carried on in *England*, and that in which it was hurried on in *Scotland*.

1°. IN *England* the reformation was begun and carried on by authority of the sovereign, and had the outward countenance of legal proceedings. In *Scotland* the ringleaders of the reformation, far from any countenance of the sovereign, or laws, were in open rebellion against the queen, then their sovereign, and acted in defiance of all the then standing laws.

2°. IN

2°. IN *England* the cathedral churches, with all their buildings, records and libraries, were left untouched, at least in the first heat of the reformation. In *Scotland* the buildings, records, archives, and libraries of the cathedrals, were no more spared, than those of the abbeys and monasteries.

3°. IN *England* the suppressing or defacing of abbeys and monasteries was not permitted to the multitude or rabble, but (a) deputies on purpose appointed by authority, with express order to preserve all things of value, to register, and make an account of them; and in particular, care was taken to preserve all evidences, MSS. and records.

AND under the reign of king *Henry VIII.* upon the dissolution of the abbeys and monasteries, so great care was taken for the preservation of all ancient monuments of history, that *A. D.* 1543, (b) by a special writ of that king, commission was given to *John Leland*, a learned and zealous antiquary, to peruse and search all the libraries of the monasteries and colleges throughout the whole realm that were then dissolved and broken up, that as much as might be, all ancient monuments of the land... might be preserved. And notwithstanding

(a) Burnet's Hist. Ref. tom. 1. Collect. p. 152.

(b) Strype's Memorials of the Reformation, vol. I. p. 385.

all these precautions, *Leland* tells us that many of these monuments were destroyed.

How much more in *Scotland*, where no such precaution was used, nor was it practicable, the government being at the time unhinged; and the executioners of this reformation of churches, as it was called, being the gentlemen of the congregation and an inconsiderate multitude, with arms in their hands against their sovereign, led on by the fiery exhortations of their new preachers, with a blind zeal to burn and destroy all monuments of religion, as superstitious and idolatrous; and particularly animated against all MSS. and records, relating to religion, in order to abolish the memory of what they termed idolatry; and especially to burn all books that had red letters, as belonging to the popish worship, by which means such MS. histories that came in their way, were sacrificed without distinction, all of them having the titles in *miniature*, or red letters, as well as books of liturgy or laws: and even in the burning the books of the old liturgy, we made considerable historical losses; for 'tis to be observed, that frequently in old missals, breviaries, and such others, where there were, at the beginning or end, blank leaves; the churchmen, or religious men of these times, used to fill them up for their own use, with extracts or copies of parts of the history or chronology of the country. I have seen some of this kind; but the most valuable I have met with,

was

was at *Drummond-Castle*, the seat of the noble family of *Perth*; where, among the remains of an ancient library belonging to it, I found in an ancient breviary, on vellum, written about the end of the fourteenth age, an exact chronology, beginning *A. D.* 1067, at the marriage of *Malcolm III.* and *S. Margaret*, and from thence down till about *A. D.* 1390, (when it appears to have been written) containing the principal transactions of the kingdom, each with its proper date of the year, and often of the day and month. In the same library there is, among other MSS. a valuable sacramentary, or missal, in a *Saxon* or *Irish* character, that appears to be about seven hundred years old, in the same character as the MS. sacramentary, entitled, *Missa S. Columbani*, in the advocates library at *Edinburgh*.

AND I doubt not, but if I had been able to travel, and been allowed freedom to go through the kingdom into the ancient seats of others of our nobility and gentry, I might have met with others of that kind. For what were saved of the monuments of history, such as some of the copies of the *Scottichronicon*, and a few others, owed their preservation to the care of some noblemen or gentlemen, into whose hands they happened to fall, when all was going to wreck.

4°. IN *England* the reformation, as to religious places, was carried on gradually by certain steps,

and those authorized by publick acts of parliament or commissions : all which were as many warnings to those concerned, to prepare against the storm. In *Scotland* nothing contributed more to the general loss of records, MSS. and monuments of history, than that sudden and unforeseen invasion, plundering, and burning of religious houses : like a hurricane, or violent storm, that drove all before it, before any body, but the contrivers, was aware ; and what is most to be lamented, this storm fell more violently and more suddenly on these religious places which were the chief repositories of ancient records and MSS. and which being more remote from the invasions of *England*, had been, till then, preserved more entire. To instance in a few examples.

IN *St. Andrew's*, as being the metropolitan church, were kept the chief ecclesiastical records of the kingdom ; and being the most ancient seat, and in great veneration even in the time of the *Pictish* kings, the most ancient records or histories, both of the *Picts* and *Scots*, were more safely preserved there than any where else, being most remote from the ordinary seat of war. And now of all those ancient monuments, we hear not of any other remaining, but one or two chartularies. The reason is obvious, *John Knox* himself (a), who carried on the work, tells us the reformation at

(a) *Knox's Hist.* p. 150.

St. *Andrew's*, that is, the ransacking some churches, and razing others, was carried on, all on a sudden, with expedition, upon an exhortation which he himself made to the people, on our Saviour's driving the buyers and sellers out of the temple, whereby he so (a) inflamed the rabble, that they went instantly to work, and made spoil of the churches, burnt the archives, and razed the monasteries of the *Black and Grey Friars*.

SCOOON was the place appointed for the coronation of our kings, where, till the time of king *James I.* all the great councils or parliaments used frequently to be held; and, by consequence, where the accounts of all publick transactions were most likely to be preserved: yet we have nothing left of all these ancient records; and no wonder, for on the 28th of *June 1559*, as (b) *Spotswood* and (c) *John Knox* relate, the royal palace, and chiefly the church and abbey, were totally consumed to ashes by the furious reformers of *Dundee* and *Perth*: notwithstanding that *Knox*, as he says, and others of the chief reformers, being content that the church was reformed, that is, spoiled and plundered, endeavoured to stop the fury of the mobb from burning the palace and church; but in vain. . The people, once possessed by his declamations, that all such places were to be

(a) *Spotwood's Hist.* p. 123, 124.

(b) *Ibid.* p. 125.

(c) *Knox's Hist.* p. 155.

made sacrifices of, were not to be stopt in the heat of their fury.

THE *Black Friars*, or *Dominicans* of *Perth*, *Domus fratrum prædicatorum de Perth*, was famous for being the ordinary place of meeting of all our national councils, which by an order settled above five hundred years ago, were to be yearly kept by all the bishops and clergy of the kingdom; and whereof we have on record an account of many such councils held anciently in *Scotland*, both in that church, and in others. I shall subjoin to this §. an index of the dates of such of these councils, as I have met with on record; but, except the copy of the canons preserved in a chartulary of *Aberdeen*, I could never as yet hear of the acts or canons of any of them before the year 1549. The reason is plain, these acts and canons, besides the authentick copies deposited in *St. Andrew's*, and other churches, were of course kept in the archives of this convent of the *Dominicans* of *Perth*, to be represented at each council: now this convent and church suffered the same calamity as that of *St. Andrew's*, or rather a greater, with no less expedition and suddenness. Upon the 11th of *May* 1559, the reformers being assembled in arms against their sovereign at *Perth*, after a vehement declamation of *John Knox* against churches and convents, as monuments of idolatry, and enforcing the commandment of God for destroying all such places, the fable rose and destroyed

stroyed not only this convent and church of the *Black Friars*, but those of the *Grey Friars*, and of the charter-house, or *Carthusians*, (a building, says (a) *Knox*, of wonderful cost and greatness) all these were so destroyed, that in two days time the walls only remained of all these stately edifices. It is *Knox* himself who hounded out, or led on the furious mobb in this wretched expedition, that hath thought fit to record it, with many other such noble exploits, more becoming the *Goths* or *Vandals*, than an apostolical man, as he pretended to be. This made *Johnston*, a zealous protestant writer, but a lover of his country, speaking of the mischiefs that *Knox* occasioned to the kingdom, characterize him as a man (b) *famous for the burning of churches, and for the renewing, in his native country, the barbarous devastation of the Vandals, &c.*

THESE were a part of the exploits of our reformers, against all ancient religious monuments of their native country, performed in the first year of their setting up, and may be chiefly attributed to the rabble, inflamed by the violent de-

(a) *Knox's Hist.* p. 136, 137.

(b) Verum enimvero Johannes Knoxius templorum incendiis, & Wandalica vastitate notissimus, qui priscæ pietatis monumenta, obrentu religionis diruit, compans & plumbea ecclesiarum testa sacrilega rapacitate invasit, intestinis diffidiis accendendis acerrimam fœcem prætulit. *Rob. Johnston hist. rerum Britan. Amstelod. 1655. p. 2. n. 40.*

clamations

clamations of their new preachers. But, as if the fate of the new reformation had depended on abolishing all memory of antiquity in the kingdom, the exploits of the second year were more fatal to all remains of ancient monuments, records, or history, than all that had hitherto happened.

THE leading men of the reformation met together in their usual manner, without the commission or authority of their sovereign; and, among other acts, passed one, says archbishop (a) Spotswood, for demolishing cloisters and abbey churches, such as were not yet pulled down; the execution whereof was committed to the most violent men of the party; for the west, to the earls of Arran, Glencarn, &c. for the north, to the lord James Priour of St. Andrew's; and for the in-countries, to some barons who were held the most zealous.

THE REFORMATION, adds the same writer, ensued a pitiful destruction of churches, and church-buildings, throughout all parts of the kingdom; for every one made bold to put their hands; the meaner sort imitating the example of the greater. No difference was made, but all churches either defaced or pulled to the ground. The holy vessels, and whatsoever else they could make gain of, as timber, lead, and bells, were put to sale: the very sepulchres of the dead were not spared; and, among others,

(a) Spotswood, p. 174, 175.

those of all our kings and queens since king *Malcolm III.* at *Dumferlin*, and elsewhere ; as at *Scoon*, *Arbroth*, *Melros*, the charter-house of *Perth*, &c. insomuch, that of all our kings and queens, there is not so much as one monument left entire within *Scotland*.

THE registers of the churches and bibliotheks, or libraries, were cast into the fire, says Spotswood, and these were so entirely destroyed, that if in Scotland there had happened a debate, such as lately in England, (into which I do not enter) about the consecrations or ordinations of bishops and priests, either before or about the time of the reformation: I do not believe, that of all our ancient bishops and priests, ordained within the country, there could have been found the register or act of consecration or ordination of any one of them. So careful were our first reformers to sweep clean away all that could renew the memory of the religion in which they had been baptized, and all that belonged to it. Of which it were easy to give surprizing instances: but this is a sufficient one, of the difference betwixt the violent manner in which the reformation, as to all old MSS. or records, was carried on in Scotland, and the moderate course, which was followed, in England; in which, during this late debate concerning ordination of bishops, so many publick acts and registers of churches have been produced,

Now

Now as no body, that hath the least tincture of ecclesiastical discipline, can doubt, but that in all the cathedral churches of *Scotland*, in former times, besides the archives, where the proper records of each church were preserved, there were registers of all ordinations of priests and inferior ministers, and of all other ecclesiastical acts belonging to that diocese: that at *St. Andrew's*, the metropolitan church, besides the archives where all the records and rights of the church, such as bulls of popes, charters of the kings; all ecclesiastical acts, such as those of national councils, of *Diocesan* synods, of processes in the ecclesiastical court, &c. were preserved; there were also registers where all the consecrations of bishops within the province, or within the kingdom; all ordinations, dispensations, &c. were in course recorded: and though since the time of the reformation, all these original records are no less entirely and universally disappeared, than if they never had been: (excepting some of the chartularies) yet no person of understanding would conclude, from the present want, that there never had been any such original records, or registers in *Scotland*.

In like manner it were very unreasonable, after all the disasters which have happened to our MSS. of all kinds, to conclude, from the few remains there are of our ancient histories and chronicles, that there

there were not anciently as many of that kind proportionably in *Scotland*, as in other countries; for it was not barely ecclesiastical monuments that suffered in the times of our reformation; for since abbeys, convents, and churches, where our chronicles and other historical monuments used to be written and preserved, were burnt or destroyed, and that generally on a sudden, and without forewarning, so as that nothing could be removed or secured; it cannot be easily conceived how many valuable records or monuments of all kinds perished in their ruins.

FOR in a word, says (a) Spotswood, all was ruined; and what had escaped the first tumult, did now undergo the common calamity, which was so much the worse; that the violences committed at this time were coloured with the warrant of an apparent publick authority. Thus archbishop Spotswood, and more to this purpose, where he lays the blame chiefly on Knox, and others of the first preachers of the reformation; and on their misapplying scripture texts to excite the people to react, in their native country, the part that the Goths and Vandals had acted on the Roman empire.

BUT what is farther to be regreted, and deserves to be particularly taken notice of, in this

(a) Spotswood, p. 175.

promiscuous burning of religious houses, with the registers and libraries of churches, is that besides those historical and other records that might have been known, and valued by the churchmen, or religious, who were the inhabitants and possessors of these churches or convents, it frequently happened that in the libraries of the churches and monasteries of ancient establishment, there were old chronicles, records, acts and canons of councils, and other valuable monuments, civil and ecclesiastical, of which the actual possessors of these churches or convents, (especially in those days when there was no knowledge of critical learning, and as little taste of antiquity) either took no notice, or were not skilled enough to know the true value of them. Nor was this ignorance and neglect of ancient monuments, peculiar to many churchmen and religious men in *Scotland*, in the ages preceding the reformation; but too common in all other countries in those days, and even in after-times.

Thus we have seen in the last age, when the true taste of antiquity, of critical learning, and of discernment of genuine ancient MSS. revived, how many valuable monuments of history, of councils, of fathers, of ecclesiastical writers, and other pieces of all kinds; some of them whose names and titles had never been known or heard of, out of the houses where they had been at first composed; others that were believed to

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have

have been lost, how many such valuable monuments have been discovered; and, if I may say so, dug up from the bottom of old libraries, in monasteries and churches, where they had lain buried, sometimes unknown to their possessors: and this particularly by the labours, skill and diligence of such men, as *Dacherius*, *Canisius*, *Mabillon*, *Baluze*, *Labbe*, *Martene*, and many others abroad, who have enriched, and daily continue to enrich the republick of letters with so many volumes of collections of ancient monuments of all kinds, and among these, so many ancient chronicles and annals, which had never been known out of the houses where they were found, and had infallibly perished with them, without ever being heard of, had they met with the fate of the churches and abbeys of *Scotland*.

AND not to go out of *Britain*, whence have we in *England*, the *Decem* and the *Quindecem Scriptores*, the *Anglica*, *Normanica*, &c. published by *Camden*, the collection of councils in two volumes by *Spelman*, those in *Anglia Sacra* in other two, and other such ancient monuments; but from the remains of the libraries of the churches and monasteries? Several of which had never been known or heard of, even as to their names and titles, no more than those in *Scotland*, had not *Leland* made his literary voyages and searches, and had the *English* monasteries and churches met with such thorow reformers as those in *Scotland*.

HAD

HAD our ancient churches, abbeys and convents, with their libraries, stood till these times that the taste and value of the genuine monuments of antiquity is renewed in our country, as elsewhere; what might not, for example, have been found at *Abernethy*, the most ancient church in *Scotland*, and which had subsisted from the first conversion of the *Picts* in the fifth and sixth age, which had a proper chronicle (a) of its own, (mentioned in the *Scotichronicon*, but perished now with the rest) and where the *Keledees* remained till the later end of the thirteenth age; in *Kilrimund*, or *St. Andrew's*, in *Dunkeld*, in the priory of the *Lochleven*: all which were already famous in the *Pictish* times: what remains might not have been found in all these of the *Pictish* historical monuments; and of the *Scotish* in the same, as well as in *Scoon*, *Dunfermlin*, *St. Colmsfinch*, *Restennet*, &c. And if the zeal of our reformers must needs ruin these stately edifices, (according to *John Knox's* famous maxim, *That the surest means to hinder the rooks to come back, was to burn their nests*) at least had the libraries and MSS. been preserved, or had there been deputed, before they were destroyed, antiquaries, such as *Leland* in *England*, that knew the true value of ancient pieces, to inspect and make catalogues of them, to preserve and

(a) *Scotichron.* Passeten. lib. 4. c. 12. in *Biblioth. Regia Londin.*

put in safety the more precious, &c. Had we had in the heat of this new kind of reforming the church, when so many valuable pieces of antiquity, that had escaped the fire, were sold for almost nothing to the book-binders, grocers, &c. Had we had in those days men of the fine taste and temper of Sir *Robert Cotton*, and others in *England*, who preserved so many of those persecuted remains and monuments of their forefathers piety and glory: nay, had we then had men of such a publick spirit, as some in our own time, I doubt not but we might in that case have had collections of *Scotish* ancient monuments, no less valuable for *Scotland*, than those of the *Cotton* library and others are for *England*, especially of ecclesiastical matters; after which, it appears that king *Edward I.* in his searches had not designedly enquired: so they remained much more entire, till the time of the reformation, than what concerned the civil history.

AND now 'tis easy to perceive the vast disparity there was as to the loss or preservation of records, and all sort of MSS. betwixt the manner in which the reformation was carried on in *England*, and that in which it was hurried on in *Scotland*; and that whatever plenty there might have been in former times in *Scotland*, of historical, ecclesiastical, or other monuments of antiquity, it is rather a wonder that any at all should have remained, than that there should be so very few

in comparison of what have been preserved in *England*.

AND after this account of the fate of our ancient monuments of this kind, especially those of ecclesiastical matters, I think I need not insist upon refuting the groundless story of their having been transported abroad by the ancient churchmen, or religious men, at the time of the reformation; for, excepting a part of the records of *Glasgo*, with the two chartularies, saved by the archbishop *James Beaton*, it was never as yet heard that any of our countrymen have met with any thing considerable of that kind in any foreign country: though within these last hundred years, and upwards, since the truth of our antiquities, as set down by *Boece*, hath been violently contested, and many other warm disputes betwixt the *Scots* and the *Irish*, several of the most learned of our countrymen have used all possible diligence in searching every where abroad, after all remains of our history or antiquities. Such were *Thomas Dempster*, so famous for his contests and debates with the *Irish*; *George Conne*, a Roman prelate; *David Chambers*, and others, all of them in great credit at *Rome*, and elsewhere abroad. We have had others that have searched through *Flanders* and *Germany*; and of late the learned *Dr. John Jamesone*, who lived many years in *Rome*, and had access to all their libraries, and searched with zeal every where both in *Italy* and *France*, yet

yet never could hear of any considerable monument concerning *Scotland*, except, what every body knows, of the above-mentioned charters or writs of the church of *Glasgo* at *Paris*; and a history of the *Abbots* of *Kinlos* in *Murray*, written by *Fereri*us *Pedemontanus*, the continuator of *Boece*'s history. Others of late have made farther searches abroad in the same view: so that there appears no other ground for that story, of the transportation of ancient *Scotish* histories, or other monuments, but the care and zeal of the aforesaid archbishop of *Glasgo*, to save what he could of those of his church from the common fate of all the rest. It had been indeed to be wished, that his example had been followed by other prelates, churchmen, or religious men of those times; but by all that hath yet been discovered, there is little or no appearance that he had any considerable imitators: besides that, it must be considered, that this violent burning and destroying all churches, with their records and monuments, came on so suddenly, as we have observed, and was carried on with so great impetuosity, that those among the churchmen or religious men, who remained firm in the old religion, had difficulty to provide for their own safety, and were not in a condition to save any thing else.

AFTER this melancholy relation of the destruction of historical, and of all kind of ancient monuments at our reformation, which fell heaviest

on those that concerned the church, it remains now to give some short account of such ancient pieces that escaped the zeal of those times. And, in the first place, some of the *Scoticchronicons*, and other historical pieces, were saved by some curious men, lovers of the honour of their country, into whose hands they happened to fall when all was going to wreck. It was also by the same means that some of the chartularies of four of the cathedral churches, (besides the two of *Glasgo* saved by the archbishop *James Beaton*) were preserved; to wit, those of *St. Andrew's*, of *Murray*, of *Aberdeen*, and of *Brechin*. But the chartularies of the other eight cathedrals, together with the original writs or charters, records and registers of all of them, perished in the manner that (a) *Spotswood* hath related.

BUT it appears, that no kind of monuments had so good a luck to escape, as many of the chartularies of the abbeyes: and there were particular motives for saving of them, preferably to any other monuments of ecclesiastical antiquities. For almost the only pieces, I may say in general all that they contain, are the authentick copies of the temporal lands, possessions and jurisdictions that anciently belonged to these religious houses, or churches, whose chartularies they are; such as the bulls, charters or writs of their foundations,

(a) *Supra* pag. 486.

donations, confirmations, &c. by the popes, kings, bi.hops, nobility, &c.

Now 'tis to be observed, that the first preachers of our *Scottish* reformation had carried to that height their invectives against the old churchmen, and religious men of those times, and against the riches and possessions of churches and convents, (towards which, to speak the truth, the abuses of those times furnished them too great a handle) that they condemned all the ancient foundations and donations of lands and revenues, made to churches or convents, as sinful ; and as being given towards superstitious uses, and therefore to be reformed away. On the other hand, in their declamations against the avarice of churchmen, in performing their functions, to render them more odious to the people, they themselves in the beginning spoke the language of men who aimed at no worldly settlement, but purely at the glory of God and salvation of souls ; and as they gave themselves out for men extraordinarily raised up to re-establish the doctrine of the apostles and apostolical men, so the people were at first made to believe that these new preachers would equally imitate the apostles and their disciples, in looking no farther than their daily bread, and depending entirely on providence for their subsistence ; this gained over to them numbers of people : and this cant lasted till the assembly held in *August* 1560, called by that party a parliament, in which the

first acts were made against the old religion, and in favour of the reformation. And from thenceforth the preachers changed their note, and they began immediately to cry for stipends, and in proportion, as their credit was established, to lay claim to the old church-lands and possessions, as sacred things given irrevocably to God, and which could not be lawfully disposed, but for settling of the ministers, or to charitable uses, at their disposal (a). But in this they were over-ruled by more powerful pretenders.

FOR many of the nobility and gentry over the kingdom, that had embraced the reformation, had heard and received, with no less pleasure, the instructions of the first preachers of it, concerning the abuse and misapplication of so much riches, and so many temporal lands and baronies disposed to abbeys and churches for uses, they had been informed, were superstitious; and being thus easily persuaded that all these foundations and donations of churches and convents were null, and of no effect from the beginning; and by consequence, that they reverted in course to the sovereign, to the nobility, or to the heirs of the first founders and donors; upon this, some of those among them that had been the most zealous promoters of the

(a) See *Knox's Hist.* edit. in fol. p. 319, 320, 325, 326, 339, 349, &c. and the acts of the first general assembly, December 1560; and the following assemblies.

work of the reformation, were among the first to get into the possession of the temporals of the abbeys and churches, partly as having been, by a mistaken zeal, lavished away by their predecessors to bad uses; partly by obtaining a gift, and generally, for greater security, a confirmation of them from the sovereign, to whom they supposed they were by right returned, as to the chief founder: and queen *Mary*, to be able to enjoy some freedom, peace, and quietness amidst the disaffected and divided parties, she found in the kingdom at her return from *France*, was liberal enough to them all, in her concessions and grants of church-lands.

NOW the original writs or charters of the foundations and donations of the lands of the abbeys and churches, having been for the most part destroyed over the kingdom, together with the religious houses and churches themselves, as we have seen; and the only remaining authentick copies or duplicates of all these writs being contained in the chartularies of those abbeys or churches, those chartularies came to be in esteem, were carefully sought among the spoils of those religious houses, and saved chiefly by those that had obtained the possession of their temporality, as containing a kind of progress of writs, or as being so many authentick land-books, in which an exact indication and enumeration of all that had belonged to these abbeys and churches was to be found. And thus so many of them are still

remaining; for there being generally several copies of the chartularies of each abbey, some of them escaped the common fate, and were easily to be found in those days.

THERE are still remaining a sufficient number of them, which, if put together, and printed, would make at least one large volume of a *Monasticon Scoticanum*, and be of great use towards the illustration of the ancient families of the nobility and gentry of that kingdom, especially during the twelfth, thirteenth, and fourteenth age; and that is now the chief, or only use of them; for they serve very little towards giving light into the affairs of the church, most part of all that they contain being writs of foundations, donations, and other rights of the temporal lands of the churches and abbeys. However, they being very curious and useful towards giving light into ancient families, in order to preserve them, many of them have been of late acquired by the honourable and learned gentlemen of the faculty of advocates at *Edinburgh*, who, out of zeal for their country, have spared no expence to buy up, at any rate, and preserve from perishing, those and many other precious remains of the history and antiquities of *Scotland*, and placed them in their library, consisting of a great collection of printed books; all which, for the improvement of learning in their country, they have generously ordered to be open to all learned and curious men.

BUT

BUT no private family hath shewn greater zeal for retrieving the historical and other ancient monuments of their country, than that of *Panmure*; which, besides an ancient *Scoticchronicon*, is in possession of the original chartularies of *St. Andrew's*, and of *Brechin*, and of copies of almost all the other chartularies remaining, with a rare collection of many original writs of the abbeyes and other valuable monuments: all which the present chief of that noble family was pleased to communicate to me, with singular marks of kindness, during the time I staid at *Edinburgh*.

HAD there been, in the days of the reformation, (when so many precious monuments of our antiquities were daily perishing, or put to sale for waste paper or parchment) men of such a publick spirit as these, and as zealous for the honour of our country, in that case, instead of this long and lamentable enumeration of the loss of ancient monuments, that our country made in those times of confusion, I should have had the pleasure to have had to set down here a detailed account or catalogue of the many valuable MSS. of our civil and ecclesiastical history still preserved; and, among others, of the acts and canons of our national councils: whereof we have now remaining only the dates of a few of them: which, as I promised before, I shall here subjoin, both as a farther proof of the loss that our antiquities have sustained

sustained from blind zealots, and to confirm what I have here advanced, that the few remains we have now of ancient monuments is no argument that we had not, before the reformation, as many in proportion as our neighbours; and in order also, towards the furnishing materials for an ecclesiastical history of *Scotland*, to excite the learned among our countrymen to make farther enquiry for any thing of this kind, that may still remain undiscovered, and unknown in private hands, as that precious collection of canons in the chartulary of *Aberdeen*, in the advocates library, had done for so many years, till they discovered and bought it up. For the canons and regulations of national or provincial councils, are so essential an ingredient into the ecclesiastical history of any country, that without some account of them, it must needs appear almost a skeleton.

A Chrono-

A Chronological Index of such of the National Councils of the Church of Scotland, as I have found mentioned in History and Records.

I. **T**HE first of this kind that I find recorded in history, was under the reign of king *Keneth Mac Alpin*, about the year of our Lord 850: among these laws, which (a) *Fordun* calls *Leges Macalpinae*, as they are set down by (b) *Boece*, there are some statutes concerning ecclesiastical matters, which were no doubt made in an assembly with the concurrence of the bishops, as it was the universal discipline of the church in those times, that no ecclesiastical laws could be enacted without episcopal authority and concurrence. And tho' we have now no farther accounts of these laws, than what the two above-mentioned writers and *Winton* contain, it cannot be reasonably doubted of, but that this victorious king would not fail, upon the union of the *Pictish* and *Scotish* kingdoms, after the confusions of war were over, to make new laws for his united kingdoms, proper to heal all intestine disorders. It is most likely, that these laws were

(a) *Fordun*, lib. 4. c. 8. p. 293. edit. Hearn.

(b) *Boeth. Hist.* fol. 208. 1st edit.

made at *Scoon*, where king *Keneth* had settled the chief seat of his united kingdoms.

II. WE have a more certain account of another council or assembly, holden also at *Scoon*; (a) *the sixth year of the reign of our king Constantin, son of Eth, (A. D. 906)* in which this king *Constantin*, and *Kellach the bishop*, with the Scots, solemnly vowed to observe the laws and discipline of faith, the rights of the churches, and of the gospel; on a little hill, called from thence *Collis credulitatis* (*Knoc-creidimb*, I suppose, in the vulgar language) near the royal city of *Scoon*. 'Tis like it was the same place so famous afterwards by the name of the *Mute-Hill of Scoon*; in *Latin, Omnis terra. Vid. Skein's Glossary.*

III. DURING the reign of *Malcolm Keanmore*, about *A. D. 1073*, or *1074*, several national councils were held in *Scotland* by the pious zeal of his royal consort *St. Margaret*, as *Turgot*, (who, 'tis like, assisted himself at these councils) relates in her life, for the re-establishing ecclesiastical disci-

(a) In vi. anno (regni sui) *Constantinus rex [filius Edii] & Kellachus episcopus* leges disciplinasque fidei, atque jura ecclesiarum, evangeliorumque pariter cum Scottis in colle credulitatis prope regali civitate *Scoan* (sic) devoverunt custodiri; ab hoc die collis hoc [nomen] meruit, i. e. collis credulitatis, *V. Append. n. 3.*

(b) *Vita S. Margarete regine in actis sanctor. Boland. ad 10 Jun.*

pline, and the reformation of manners. Some extracts of the canons of these councils are set down by *Turgot*. But the whole acts and canons at length were no doubt deposited either at *Dunfermlin*, founded in this reign, or at *St. Andrew's*.

IV. *A. D.* 1126, under the reign of king *David I.* a council holden at *Roxburgh* by the cardinal-legate *John* of *Crema*. *Decem Scriptorum Anglie*, col. 252.

V. *A. D.* 1138, in the same reign, another national council of the bishops of *Scotland*, holden by the legate *Alberic* at *Carlisle*, where, in those days, king *David* kept ordinarily his court. *Decem Scriptorum Angl.* col. 264.

VI. *A. D.* 1177, a national council at *Edinburgh*, holden by the cardinal legate *Winian*, with the bishops of *Scotland*, in which many ancient canons were renewed, and new ones enacted. *Chron. Maylr. hoc anno & Fordun edit. Hearne*, p. 714.

VII. *A. D.* 1201, in *December*, a national council was holden at *Pertb* by *John de Salerno*, cardinal-legate, in which many canons were made. *Cbr. Maylr. Houeden*. p. 468, &c.

VIII. *A. D.* 1206, a national council, (called in the original writ *Synodus Generalis*) holden at *Pertb* in *April*. *Ex charta penes Vicecomitem de Arbutnot*.

IX. *A. D.*

IX. *A.D.* 1211, a national council holden at *Perth* by *William* bishop of *St. Andrew's*, *Walter* bishop of *Glasgo*, and the other bishops of *Scotland*. *Scotichron. Paslaten. in biblioth. Regia Londin. lib. ix. c. 78.*

X. *A.D.* 1221, *James* canon of *St. Victor* at *Paris*, penitentiary of the pope, and legate to *Scotland*, held a national council of all the prelates of *Scotland* at *Perth*, during four days in the month of *February*. *Scotichron. idem. lib. ix. c. 37.*

A.D. 1225, a mandate of pope *Honorius III.* the 19th of *May*, the ninth of his pontificate, to all the bishops of *Scotland*; by which, after having told them, that whereas he had been informed by some of them, that for want of a metropolitan, by whose authority they might regularly hold provincial councils, the canons were not duly observed, and many other abuses happened; therefore he enjoins them, that since they had not a metropolitan, they should convene, by his authority, to celebrate provincial councils, which, says the pope, ought not to be omitted. *Ex Chartular. vet. Moravien. fol. 11. & Chartular. Aberdon. fol. 25. in Biblioth. Jurid. Edinb.*

XI. IN consequence of this mandate, and upon receiving it, the bishops held a (a) national or pro-

(a) Statuta generalia ecclesie Scoticanæ, can. 1. in Chartul. Aberd. supra.

vincial council of all the prelates of the kingdom, in which they regulated the form of holding it; and enacted, 1°. That, according to the (a) canons of the church, a provincial council should be holden every year, at which all the bishops, abbots, and priors, should assist, to regulate all ecclesiastical affairs. 2°. That at each (b) council a *conservator*, being one of the bishops, should be chosen by common consent to preside instead of a metropolitan; and who, in that quality, should punish all transgressors of the statutes of the councils, and by the authority of the same. 3°. That (c) at each council the bishops should preach by turns, beginning by the bishop of St. *Andrew's*, &c.

XII. IN the chartulary of *Murray* we have an account of another national council, indicted to be holden (d) *in domo fratrum prædicatorum de Perth*, on *Wednesday* before the feast of St. *Luke*, in *October*, but without the date of the year; only it must have been some years after *A. D.* 1230, when the *Black Friars* first came into *Scotland*. However, in this act we have the form of the bishop conservator his indicting or convoking the yearly council, *authoritate conservatoria*, as the act bears, by a letter to each bishop, charging him to give his

(a) Ibid.

(b) Ibid. can. 2.

(c) Ibid.

(d) Chartul. vet. Moravien. fol. 93, in Bibl. Jurid. Ed.

presence at such a place, (which was commonly the convent of the *Black Friars of Perth*) on such a day, with continuation of days; together with the abbots and priors, the proctors of chapters, colleges and convents of his diocese; there to treat of the reformation of the state of the church, &c.

I call all these councils *national*, because they were composed of the bishops, prelates, proctors of the chapters, and of all the clergy of the kingdom, though in the precise language of the canon law, these councils being held by the bishop conservator, instead of a metropolitan; and so by an archiepiscopal authority, according to the pope's mandate, they are called by the pope and by the bishops themselves *provincial* councils; and by our parliaments *general*, or *general-provincial* councils.

XIII. *A.D.* 1239, the cardinal-legate *Otho*, having at last obtained leave of king *Alexander II.* (who (a) two years before had absolutely refused to suffer any legate to enter his kingdom) came into *Scotland* about the end of *September*, held a national council at *Edinburgh* the 19th day of *October*, and departed in the beginning of *November*. *Scoticbr. Paslat. lib. ix. c. 54.*

XIV. *A.D.* 1242, a national council held at *Perth*. *Scoticbr. Paslat. lib. ix. c. 59.*

(a) *Mauth. Parif. p. 301.*

XV. *A.D.*

XV. *A. D.* 1268, *Othobon*, cardinal-legate in *England*, cited the bishops of *Scotland* to a council, which he was to hold in *England*; two of them went as deputies from the rest, but refused to accept of the canons of his council; and being returned home, they, with all the rest of the bishops and clergy of *Scotland*, held a national council of their own, in their usual manner, at *Perth*. *Scoticbr. lib. x. c. 25.*

XVI. *A. D.* 1273, a national council at *Perth*. *Scoticbr. lib. x. c. 33.*

XVII. *A. D.* 1275, a national council at *Perth*, in presence of *Bagimond* the pope's nuncio, who came to collect the taxations of all benefices, and settled a roll of those taxations that served for a rule in following times, to which our acts of parliament (a) refer. *Scoticbr. lib. x. c. 35.*

XVIII. *A. D.* 1280, a national council holden at the *Black Friars* of *Perth*, on *Monday* after *St. Bartholomew's* day in *August*; mentioned in a sentence of *Archbald* bishop of *Murray* this year. *Chartular. vet. Eccl. Moravien. fol. 46. in bibl. Jurid. Edin.*

XIX. *A. D.* 1310, a national council holden at *Dundee*, in which, among other acts, king *Robert I's*

(a) *Jam. III. parl. 6. c. 44. Jam. IV. parl. 4. c. 39.*

right to the crown is asserted by all the bishops and clergy of *Scotland*. *Independency by M. Anderson, append. num. 12.*

XX. *A. D.* 1321, a national council holden at *Perth* in *July*, mentioned in the rolls of king *Robert I.* n. 85. *Ex Collect. Comitum de Panmure, p. 65.*

XXI. *A. D.* 1324, a national council holden in *March* at *Scoon*: it is called in the act, *Generale Concilium*. *Mentioned in a writ in the chartulary of Glasgo of this year.*

XXII. *A. D.* 1420, a national council holden the 16th of *July*, at the *Black Friars* of *Perth*, by *William* bishop of *Dunblain*, conservator; and in that quality president of the council. There is an act of this council, concerning the *quotes* of testament; but the act is more considerable, because it describes the form of the council, which is there called *Synodus Provincialis & Concilium generale Cleri Regni Scotiæ*, with the names of the bishops present in person, or by procurator, &c. Among other things it appears, that the decrees or statutes were sealed by all the bishops seals. *This act is in the original chartulary of Brechin penes Comitem de Panmure, fol. 62.*

XXIII. *A. D.* 1457, a national council at *Perth*, in which, among other acts, a declaration was made concerning the king's right of nomination
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to benefices during vacancies of bishopricks, &c.
Records of parliament of king James III. fol. 75.

XXIV. *A. D.* 1459, a national council holden in *July*, at *Perth*, by *Thomas* bishop of *Aberdeen*, conservator; and in that quality president of the council: in which the aforesaid declaration was renewed. *Records of parliament as above.*

XXV. *A. D.* 1487, I find, in a chartulary of *Arbroth*, a deputation made by the abbot and convent of that abbey, of procurators to assist at a general or national council, to be holden this year at *St. Andrew's*. *Chartular. maj. Aberbroth, fol. 115. in Bibl. Jurid. Edinb.*

XXVI. *A. D.* 1512, a national council holden at *Edinburgh*. Mentioned by bishop *Lestly* in his *history of Scotland*, p. 356.

XXVII. *A. D.* 1536, a national, or as it is called in the act, a general provincial council of *Scotland*, to be holden the 1st day of *March* next to come, 1536, in the *Black Friars* at *Edinburgh*, by the archbishop of *St. Andrew's*; ordered by act of parliament, in *Jan.* 1535. *Records of parliament of king James V. fol. 8.*

XXVIII. *A. D.* 1546, a national council holden at *Edinburgh*, by cardinal *Beaton*, archbishop of *St. Andrew's*, and primate, for the reformation of the
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lives and manners of churchmen. *Buchanan's Hist. lib. 15.*

XXIX. *A. D.* 1549, a national council begun at *Lithgo* in *August*, and transferred in *September* to *Edinburgh*, holden by *Jo. Hamilton*, archbishop of *St. Andrew's*, and primate for reformation of the ecclesiastical discipline.

XXX. *A. D.* 1552, a national council holden at *Edinburgh*, in *January*, by the same archbishop. It was in this council that the large catechism, printed at *St. Andrew's* in *August* following, by this archbishop's order, was approved. *Less. Hist. p. 476.*

XXXI. *A. D.* 1559, the last national council of *Scotland*, holden at *Edinburgh* in *March*, by the same archbishop, for reformation of ecclesiastical discipline. *Less. Hist. p. 504, 505.*

THESE are the dates of such of the national councils of *Scotland*, as I have hitherto had occasion to observe in records or history; and though their number may appear not inconsiderable to those who, by reason of the universal destruction of ecclesiastical acts and monuments within that kingdom, may have imagined that those canonical assemblies had been extremely rare in our country; yet we have assured proof, that these thirty-one councils which I have remarked, are almost nothing in comparison of the great number of

of such national assemblies that were holden in former ages: since it was (a) solemnly enacted, about five hundred years ago, by the whole bishops and clergy assembled in council, according to the example of their predecessors, that a national or provincial council should be holden *every year*, convoked by the bishop conservator for the time, at which all the clergy of the kingdom were to convene by themselves, or by deputies, under pain of being proceeded against for their absence, &c.

IT is easy to judge by this, that if the acts and canons of all these councils, which, as we see, were yearly to be assembled, had been preserved entire, such as they were before the reformation,

(a) Auctoritate Dei omnipotentis & sacrorum canonum, ac sacro sanctæ Romanæ ecclesiæ, nos prelati ecclesiæ Scotticæ concilium provinciale postorum prædecessorum more celebrantes, & laudibilem consuetudinem observantes, unanimi consensu statuimus & ordinamus ut SINGULIS ANNIS singuli episcopi & abbates ac prioratum priores in habitu solemnī ad concilium celebrandum ad certum diem, per conservatorem concilii sibi competenter præfigendum, devotè conveniant, ut per triduum, si necesse fuerit, in eodem concilio valeant pro necessitatibus divinis & ecclesiasticis commorari, & invocata spiritus sancti gratia statum ecclesiasticum ibidem ad modum debitum & placentem Deo reformare. Si quis vero eorum canonica præpeditioe fuerit impeditus, procuratorem vice sua sufficientem substituat. Non autem veniens personaliter, cum venire posset, & noluerit, auctoritate concilii & arbitrio puniatur. *Ex Statutis generalibus ecclesiæ Scotticæ, can. i.* In Chartular. vet. Aberdeen. in Biblioth. Jurid. Edinb.

we might have had this day not only two, such as *Spelman's*, but many volumes of national councils of *Scotland*; besides so many other valuable ecclesiastical acts and monuments of all kinds: which had been proper materials for a history of the ancient church of that kingdom, which being now deprived of such proper vouchers, can never come up to make a figure like to those of other nations.

BUT to conclude this melancholy subject, at least I hope that no reasonable man, after considering all that hath been said in this article, will henceforth, from the scarcity of civil and ecclesiastical monuments, under which the *Scots* at present labour, conclude that there must have been fewer of both kinds of those monuments in past ages in *Scotland*, in proportion to its extent, than in other civilized and christian countries.

ART. III. *An account of the monuments, writers, and records of the Scottish history that yet remain.*

I am now to give an account of the few historical pieces of our country, which, after all the disasters above-mentioned, still remain, especially of those that are more ancient and less known; and in this account I shall endeavour to follow the order of the time, in which these pieces seem to have been written, and the various *Epochs* of our history, which they respect.

BUT

BUT to avoid useless repetitions, the learned Dr. *William Nicholson*, late bishop of *Londonderry*, having published an exact and impartial account of the *Scotish* historians, especially from *Fordun* downwards; and the late Dr. *Mackenzie* having also treated, at great length, of the *Scotish* writers in general, I shall not insist upon a subject which these learned gentlemen have so lately handled; but endeavour only to supply what may not have come under their consideration; and shall confine myself to give an account of some short pieces relating to the *Scotish* history, which are less known, or have been less taken notice of by those that have treated the subject before, and chiefly give a more particular account of those pieces that may give more light into the point I am about to examine; to wit, the time of the settlement of the *Scots*, and of the beginning of their monarchy in *Britain*.

IN treating this subject, I shall reduce all that remains of the domestick monuments of history, that have come to my knowledge, to four heads, or classes. First class; remains of the ancient *Scotish* history antecedent to the year 1291. Second class; records or monuments of our ancient history, written betwixt the year 1291, and the publishing *John Fordun's* history about the year 1447. Third class; of *John Fordun's* history, his continuators, followers, and other writers of

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our history, till the year 1526, in which *Boece's* history came out. Fourth class; of the histories of *Hector Boece*, *Buchanan*, and their followers.

§. *Containing such remains as we have of our ancient history, written before the year 1291.*

IT is not to be wondered at, that the remains we have of our ancient history, written before the year 1291, are very few and lame; since, besides the disasters which happened in king *Edward I's* time, our posterour writers, with a view to make up that loss, having framed to themselves, as will afterwards appear, new schemes of our history, very different from our more ancient writers, it could not be expected that great care would be taken of the remains of these ancient chronicles, that did not agree with these new draughts of our history: so at best, such of our old chronicles, or other historical monuments, which had escaped the searches in king *Edward's* time, lay in the obscurity of some corner of the libraries of our churches and monasteries, with many other valuable ancient monuments oft-times unknown to their possessors, till the zeal of our new reformers burnt down and destroyed the churches and abbeyes, with their libraries; and all that they contained, which had been, till those times, preserved.

SOME of these, which I am here to account for, are remains of that kind; and though they
are

are all very short, yet being written before the year 1291, whilst our old annals were as yet subsisting, and so being extracted from, or conformable to them, they appear to be the surest guides that we can follow in order to have a true account of the ancient part of our history. The few that I have met with of them will be printed in the appendix to this essay, with some other short ancient pieces relating to *Scotland*; of all which I shall here give a short account, beginning at these pieces which have been more than once already mentioned.

I. THE first piece is a kind of description of *Albany*, or of *Scotland*, on the north side of the *Firths of Cluyd and Forth*; it bears in the MS. this title: *De situ Albani quæ in se figuram hominis habet; quomodo fuit primitus in septem regionibus divisa; quibusque nominibus antiquitus sit vocata, & a quibus inhabitata.* This short treatise was written about the twelfth age, as appears by the author's assuring us, that he had a part of his information from *Andrew*, bishop of *Catness*, who, according to the chronicle of *Mailros*, died *A. D.* 1185.

I think that there is ground to believe, that the author of this description was *Giraldus Cambrensis*, for I remember to have observed somewhere in his works, that he promises to give a description of *Albany*, or *Scotland*; and *Andrew* bishop of *Catness* may have seen him in *England* in king *David* I's time, or in that of his grandchildren, king *Malcolm*,

Malcolm, or king *William*, for *Andrew* was already bishop, *A. D.* 1150. (as appears by a writ of the church of *Glasgo*) besides this, several passages of this description are to be found, word for word, in *Ralph Higden's Polychronicon* (a), as being taken from a work of *Girald's*, which it seems is now lost; and the terms in which the author speaks of bishop (b) *Andrew*, and some other expressions in this piece prove, that the author of it was no *Scotsman*. *Camden*, in his last editions of the description of *Scotland*, hath given an extract of this piece, having no doubt seen the MS. from whence I copied it, in the lord *Burghleigh's* library. It is the same already (c) mentioned, which was bought up by order of *M. Colbert*, and is now, as I am informed, with the rest of the *Colbertin MSS.* in the king's library at *Paris*. The three following pieces are in the same MS. which also contains some other pieces relating to the history of *Britain*.

II. THE second piece is intitled, in the MS. *Chronica de origine antiquorum Pictorum*. I have already (d) given an account of it; and have only to add, that there is prefixed to it a kind of preface, composed in part of passages of some *British* writers, and of *Isidor of Seville*, which seems not to an-

(a) *Polychron.* edit. Reg. Gale, p. 185, 209.

(b) *Andreas natione Scottus.*

(c) *Supra*, p. 105.

(d) *Ibid.*

over the title of the piece in this preface, giving little or no true light into the origin of the *Picts*; and it is so incorrectly written, that it is hard enough to make sense of some parts of it. What is truly valuable, is the body of the piece, being a chronicle, as it is called, or a catalogue of the seventy *Pictish* kings, from *Cruitbne* to *Constantin*, with the rest of them, down to the union of the *Pictish* and *Scotish* kingdoms; and the last part of it, as it hath been already observed, is the exactest account of the succession of the *Pictish* kings that is extant.

III. THE third piece is an extract of an ancient history, or chronicle of eleven of the kings of *Scotland*, containing their succession, and a short account of their lives and chief actions from the subjection of the *Picts* by king *Keneth-Mac-Alpin*, till the reign of king *Keneth III.* son to *Malcolm I.* during the space of about one hundred and thirty years. The only copy I have seen of this short chronicle is taken from the same MS. as the former, whence also *Camden* hath quoted some passages. The history or chronicle, from whence it hath been extracted, appears evidently to have been originally written in the *Gelick* or *Irish* language; and the mention that it makes of the succession and deaths of some kings of *Ireland*; as also some particulars that it contains, (such as the confused manner in which it relates king *Gregory's* reign) all this makes me doubt whether it
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be not rather an extract of *Scotish* matters, from some *Irish* chronicle, than from a *Scotish* one. The *Latin* version, such as we have it in this only MS. is most barbarous, and every way imperfect, and written by an ignorant transcriber, that hath not known the *Latin* tongue; and by consequence is so incorrect, that in some places no sense can be made of it. However, the piece containing some particulars of the *Scotish* history, which are not to be met with in our common writers, and some remarkable passages, I shall give it, such as it is, entire in the appendix (a).

IT was from this abstract that *Camden* had the famous passage, *In hujus [Indulfi Regis] tempore oppidum Eden evacuatum est, ac relictum est Scottis usque in bodiurnum diem.* This passage was quoted from *Camden* first by bishop *Usher*, and after them by some other *English* and *Irish* writers, to endeavour to prove, that the *Saxons* were in possession of *Lothian* till king *Indulf's* time, about the middle of the tenth age: but besides that, we have an account from *Giraldus* (b) *Cambrensis*, no friend to the *Scots*, and from other authors, (probably as ancient as this anonymous writer) of whom *Ranulfus Cestrensis* gives us extracts in his *Polychronicon*, that king *Keneth Mac-Alpin*, about one hundred years before this, was master of all the territories from the *Friths* to the *Twede*; that he had

(a) Append. num. 3.

(b) *Polychron.* edit. Galas, p. 194, 209, 210.

vanquished the *Saxons* six times: this same anonymous piece informs us also, that king *Keneth* attacked the *Saxons* six times; that he possessed himself of *Maytros* and *Dunbar*; and relates other advantages that our kings, predecessors to *Indulf*, had over the *Saxons*: so the most that can be made of this passage is, that the town *Eden*, or *Edinburgh*, had been taken from the *Scots* after king *Keneth*'s time, and was rendered back to them in king *Indulf*'s time. And after all, we know nothing certain about the *Epoch*, nor of the authority of this extract.

I come now to give account of some other ancient pieces, which have immediate relation to the question I am about to examine: they are written by *Scotish* authors, or rather extracted from our ancient *Scotish* annals before the year 1291, when, as our historians relate, most of these annals perished in king *Edward I*'s time.

IV. THE first, which is the fourth in the appendix, is intitled in the same MS. above-mentioned, *Cronica Regum Scottorum cccxv. annorum*. It contains the series or names of our kings, with their lineal descent, and the years of their reigns, from king *Fergus* son of *Erc*, till king *William* in the twelfth age, in whose time it was written or extracted, as appears by its ending precisely at the first year of his reign, and with his genealogy, which it carries up, as all the others of this kind do,

do, to *Noah*. This genealogical series is entirely conformable to that which is contained in all our *Scotish* writers already (a) mentioned, before the new genealogy given by *Boece* appeared. From *Malcolm Keanmore*, down to king *William*, this gives some particulars of the lives of our kings, and of their children; and it gives ground to conjecture, that the author of it was a monk of *Maytross*, or had some relation to that abbey. The date of CCCXV. *annorum*, at the end of the title of this small chronicle, seems to respect either the number of years, from the beginning of king *Fergus Mac Erch*, to the union of the *Pictish* and *Scotish* monarchy; or from this union to the first year of king *William's* reign.

V. THE fifth ancient piece in the appendix is another chronological series of the kings of *Scots*, with their descent and years of their reigns, from *Fergus* the son of *Erc*. It ends the third year of king *Alexander III. A. D. 1251*. There is inserted in it a catalogue of the *Pictish* kings. This series is taken from one of the most ancient and most authentick historical monuments of *Scotland*, the register of the priory of *St. Andrew's*, fol. 46. It was sent to me some years ago, with some other extracts of that register or chartulary, by the late Sir *Robert Sybbald*, M. D. a most zealous person for collecting all ancient monuments of the

(a) *Supra*, p. 236, 237.

Scotish history that he could find. It is worth remarking, 1°. That Sir *Robert* sent me, along with it, this caution or advice; to wit, that it was of little or no use to prove the antiquity of the *Scotish* monarchy, meaning that it could not serve to prove the scheme of our monarchy, as set down by *H. Boece*, and our other later historians, of which Sir *Robert* was very full. 2°. It is no less to be remarked, that this catalogue itself, being registered among the records and charters of that ancient church, is a full proof of its being held authentick at the time it was written, that is, *A. D.* 1251, whilst our ancient annals and monuments of history were yet in being, and forty years before the searches made in king *Edward's* time.

THE certainty of the succession of our kings, contained in this register, is confirmed by the account we have of them from *Winton*, and from *James Gray*, who both of them had their information from the same records of *St. Andrew's*, as we shall have occasion to observe more at length afterwards. It was from the extracts of this register of *St. Andrew's*, that the passages set down in Sir *James Dalrymple's* collections were extracted; and with the extracts sent to me by Sir *Robert Sybbald*, the folio of the register was marked whence each extract was taken. As every great church had several of these chartularies or registers, this register of *St. Andrew's* was different from

from another (a) valuable one already mentioned, in which these catalogues of our kings are not set down, as not belonging to the subject, which concerns only the temporal lands and rights of that church.

IN this series, or catalogue of our kings, contained in this register of St. *Andrew's*, from *Keneth Mac-Alpin* downward, there is a short account of the death and burial-place, and of some of the actions of our kings: and this last part of the series is entirely the same, word for word, with another chronological account of our kings from *Keneth Mac-Alpin*, contained in a MS. of the *Cotton* library, (*Vitellius A. 20.*) It is also conformable to another chronological account of the same kings, in verse, and printed at the end of *Mcroff's* chronicle. Now this conformity of several ancient accounts of our kings, written by different hands, and preserved in different places, proves the account of them to be true, because they agree one with another.

VI. A sixth piece is a short *Latin* chronicle, in verse or rythm, subjoined to most of the copies of the *Scotichronicon*: there is an entire copy of it at the end of the *Scotichron. MS. Colleg. Scot. Paris.* without those interpolations which are in some other copies. This chronicle gives a very different

(a) Penes Com. de Paumure;

account both of the beginning of the *Scotish* monarchy, and of the succession of the first kings from the chronicle of *John Fordun*; and in every thing it differs from him, it agrees as to the names and number of kings with the fourth and fifth chronological series of our kings, which I have already mentioned. It consists of eleven chapters; and tho' at first it would appear to be one continued piece, it is really composed of at least two distinct parts, written in different ages, as the preface to it insinuates, and the tenor of the poem proves. The first part being written *veteri metro*, in ancient metre or verse, as the preface calls it; and the last parts in new verse of the same sort of metre; *Et novo ad propositum respondente*.

THE first part, consisting of eight chapters, was written in *Alexander II* or *III*'s time; for the author, after relating king *William*'s death, before he speaks of his son *Alexander II*, begins the ninth chapter with these words:

*Hactenus hæc dicta novi per chronica scripta
A modo quæ novi scriptis describere vovi.*

So all this part of the chronicle was composed whilst our old annals as yet subsisted; that is, before the year 1291.

THE last part was composed about the year 1448, by a new hand, in order to bring down the

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succession to the time of king *James II.* who then reigned.

IN general, the first three chapters of this chronological poem contain a rude draught of the vulgar traditions of the *Scots*, in those times, concerning their remote antiquities; their coming from *Egypt* to *Spain*, from thence to *Ireland*, and so to *Albany*. The fourth chapter gives some account of the *Pictish* monarchy in *Albany*. The fifth mentions the beginning of the *Scotish* monarchy in *Albany*. The sixth, seventh, and eighth chapters give the series of the kings from *Fergus* son of *Erc*, till the death of king *William*, with the years of each reign. The ninth and tenth chapters contain the succession of our kings from king *William's* death, till the reign of king *Robert the Bruce*. The eleventh chapter brings down the series from *Robert the Bruce*, till king *James II.* who, the author of this last addition says, was seventeen years of age when he composed it, which answers to the year 1448.

BESIDES these six ancient pieces which will be found in the appendix, there are some few other monuments of the *Scotish* history in posterior times, already published, which also were written before *A. D.* 1291; such as the chronicle of *Mayhross*, which ends *A. D.* 1270. But the series of our kings, contained in it, reaches no higher up than the year 731, where *Bede* left off his history,

ry, and where his chronicle begins; and even this series of our kings (which begins only at the death of king *Ewan* in the eighth age) is not of the first hand, in which the rest of the MS. of that chronicle in the *Cotton* library is written, as the learned editor hath remarked, but of a later hand, and inserted very negligently and incorrectly, especially as to the chronology. The first author of this chronicle is all *English*, and gives but short hints of *Scotish* matters till the time of king *Alexander I.* and king *David I.* except one leaf, which in the original MS. is of a hand about one hundred years more ancient than that of the chronicle itself. This leaf is abruptly inserted in the original MS. and interrupts the thread of the chronology, as may be seen, *p.* 158. *l.* 27. of the printed copy, where this leaf begins; --- *Malcolmus filius Dunecan suscepit regnum Scotie jure hæreditario, &c.* This old writ ends *p.* 159. *l.* 3. with the death of king *Malcolm IV.* *A. D.* 1165, when it was written.

THE chronicle itself contains a good series of *Scotish* affairs, from the time of the second foundation or restoration of *Maylros*, *A. D.* 1136, by *S. David*, *R. I.*

THE title of the chronicle in the printed edition, where it is said, *inchoata per abbatem de Dun-drainan*, is a wrong reading of the word *inchoavit*, instead of *mutuavit abbas de Dun-drainan* in the

original, in a character of a later hand. Our country is obliged to the late Dr. Gale for the edition of this chronicle, which is in the first volume of the *XV. Scriptores Anglie*, and to him likewise for the first edition of *Fordun* in the second volume.

ANOTHER very short chronicle, written in king *Malcolm IV.* or king *William's* time, is printed in the *Anglia Sacra*, and intitled *Chronicon S. Crucis de Edynburgh*; but it contains little of *Scotish* matters, till king *David I's* time.

ANOTHER piece of our history, written before the year 1291, is a poem in *Latin*, containing the elegies or epitaphs of our kings; being a short account of their lives and deaths, from *Keneth* the first monarch of all *Scotland* or *Albany*. It is inserted by a later hand in the MS. of *Maylros* chronicle in the *Cotton* library, and published alone by itself, at the end of the printed edition. This copy comes no farther down than the death of king *Malcolm IV.* But there's another copy of it in a MS. of the *Bodleian* library, that brings the succession down to the beginning of the reign of *Alexander III.* at which time it was written, as is clear from the last verses of it:

ALEXANDER III.

Nomen habet patris, utinam patris acta sequatur.

Filius Albanica qui modo sceptrum tenet.

THESE

THESE are all the remains that I have as yet met with, of *Scotish* chronicles or history, written before the year 1291. I do not mention here the remains of our ecclesiastical monuments, these not belonging properly to this first essay; but an account of some of them hath been already occasionally (a) given in this essay.

§. 3. *Of records or monuments of our ancient history, written since the year 1291, and before the publishing of Fordun's chronicle.*

ALTHO' we had no other proofs of the loss of our histories and records in the year 1291, and of the ignorance of the ancient state of the *Scots* in *Britain*, which ensued upon that loss, it would but too evidently appear by the uncertainty in which our countrymen were at that time, and the contradictory accounts they give of the state of the north of *Britain* in ancient times: and those not barely private writers, but men of the best figure selected on purpose to defend the cause of the whole kingdom in one of the most solemn debates that we ever had, and that before the pope; in a word, the whole body of the nation, bishops, nobles, and commons, in their memorials and letters upon this occasion. There are yet remaining three publick pieces, presented to the pope in the

(a) *Supra*, p. 587, &c.

name of the *Scotish* nation; in which the sentiments that they had in that age of their antiquities, profane and sacred, do appear.

To understand the subject of those pieces, 'tis necessary to observe, that upon king *Edward I's* claiming the superiority of *Scotland*, and invading the kingdom; the *Scots* had recourse to the pope *Boniface VIII.* and sent to *Rome* three procurators; to wit, *William (a)* archdean of *Lothians*, *Baldred Bizet* and *W. Eglisham*, as their deputies, to represent their grievances, and seek remedy; carrying with them such proofs of their freedom, and independency, as they had yet remaining.

UPON which, the pope wrote to king *Edward* (27 June, 1199) monitory letters, by which, supposing *Scotland* to be a *Fief* of the see of *Rome*, and proving the liberty and independency of that kingdom by bulls and charters in king *Edward's* father *Henry III's* time, and in his own: at the same time the pope summoned king *Edward* to send procurators to *Rome* in six months to defend his claim, declaring, all he should in the mean time enterprise against *Scotland* to the contrary, null, and of no effect.

KING *Edward* let pass above a year and a half without any answer, and then being pressed, caused first his nobles (b) (12 Feb. 1301) to answer, that

(a) Fordun. Continuat. edit. Hearn. p. 795.

(b) Fordun. Continuat. edit. Hearn. p. 984. 806.

Scotland was not a *Fief* of the apostolical see ; but of *England*, and that they would not suffer their king to answer or send procurators to *Rome* upon this debate, &c. At last, *Edward* himself answered (7 May, (a) 1301) endeavouring to prove the subjection of the *Scots* to the *English*, by a long deduction, beginning from *Brutus*, *Albanus*, &c.

THESE letters being communicated by the pope's orders to the *Scotish* agents still at *Rome*, they sent them to *Scotland*, to the council of the kingdom, who caused answers to be drawn up in haste, (*cum festinatione*) and sent them back to their agents at *Rome*, with instructions bearing this title ; I. (b) *Instruktionen prælatorum, baronum & consulum Scotiæ missæ ad curiam Romanam contra Edwardum regem Angliæ.*

BESIDES this, *Baldred Biset*, one of the chief of these agents, answered *Edward's* reasons apart by another memorial, with this title ; II. (c) *Processus ductus in curia Romana per procuratores regni Scotiæ & specialiter per M. Baldredum Biset jurisperitum & clericum notabilem contra figmenta regis Angliæ.*

(a) Ibid. p. 809.

(b) Fordun. edit. Hearn. p. 835.

(c) Fordun. Continuat. Hearn. p. 883.

BOTH these pieces may be seen at length in the *Scoticchronicon* MS. and in the exact new editions of *Fordun* by M. Hearne; and both of them, on occasion of king *Edward's* running up to *Brutus*, and the other ancient *British* stories, give us an account of the notion the *Scots* had then of their own high antiquities, rather by tradition and hearsay, than by monuments of history; of which it appears, that before this time they had been generally deprived, and in the hurry and confusion matters were in, they had not leisure to consult such remains as they might have of them; for the continuator of *Fordun* (as I said) remarks, that they were drawn up in haste, *cum festinatione*, and the circumstances of the time required expedition.

III. THE third piece remaining of these dark times, betwixt the year 1291, and the publishing of *Fordun's* history, concerning the remote antiquities of the *Scots*, is the famous letter of the Scottish nobility to pope John XXII. dated the 6th of August 1320, and often (a) published.

NOW as to the substance of these three pieces written betwixt the year 1291, and the publish-

(a) In Dr. Burnet's collection of records, in the history of the English reformation, in M. Anderson's independency, and in M. Hearne's edition of *Fordun*, p. 787.

ing

ing the history of *John Fordun*; in the first place it must be acknowledged, that the liberties and independency of the crown of *Scotland* from *England*, (which is the main scope of these memorials and letter of the *Scots*) are maintained with great vigour, and supported with better documents and grounds than could well have been expected in such times, and after the loss the *Scots* had suffered (as they justly complain) of their ancient monuments, and of the best proofs of their liberties.

As to the accounts they give of their remote antiquities, they are much the same in substance with those given in the *Chronicon Rytmicum*, already mentioned, which contains an abridgment of the traditions of the *Scots* on that subject, such as they were believed to be commonly in the thirteenth age. But those remote antiquities being only incident matters to the chief subject of the debate of the *Scots*, about their independency on *England*, they are only occasionally mentioned in the memorials and letter to the pope, not to be behind-hand with king *Edward*, who had valued himself on his having succeeded, by a long descent of kings, to *Brutus*, *Lochrinus*, &c. and as having entered in their rights over the northern inhabitants of *Britain*. Besides that, the accounts that the *Scots* deliver in these pieces, were drawn up, as hath been remarked, in so great haste, that they had not leisure, in the hurry of war, to examine them maturely, or consult those that were

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most

most versed in the antiquities of the nation ; but were obliged to set down such notions of them as their memory or popular tradition furnished them with, and at the same time to give them the most favourable turn they could, to the honour and advantage of their nation, beyond the *English*. In a word, those productions of the *Scots*, I mean as to their remote antiquities, ought to be considered, such as they truly were, as the pleadings of advocates, who commonly make no great difficulty to advance with great assurance all that makes for the advantage of their cause or clients, tho' they have but probable grounds, and sometimes but bare conjectures to go upon.

IT must not then be wondered at, that we meet with in these productions of the *Scots*, and others of those times, many particulars concerning our remote antiquities, very different from what more ancient documents contain, and some notions quite new, and singular. Now it is to be observed, that though they were only broached in haste, in order to serve the present turn ; yet some of these notions having been taken up by posterior writers, and made the foundations of new schemes of our history, its necessary to give some account of the more singular particulars that those pieces contain.

1°. THE instructions of the states insinuate, *Scota* herself, *Pharaoh's* daughter, came to *Scotland* (bringing

(bringing along with her some of the inhabitants of *Ireland* as she passed) together with her son *Erc*; from whose name, and that of his father *Gatbelus*, the first lands that the *Scots* possessed in *Britain*, were called *Argadia*, or rather *Ercgathcyl*. 2°. The letter of the nobility insinuates, that the *Scots* came from *Spain* straight to *Britain*, without mentioning *Ireland*. 3°. These pieces tell us, that from the first coming of the *Scots* to *Britain*, the old name of *Albania* was changed into that of *Scotia* (from *Scota*) which the *Scots*, say they, thenceforth kept up with an uninterrupted possession of their independency, whilst the south of *Britain* changed many names and masters. (To be sure our highland seanachies were not consulted in this account, of the abolishing the name of *Albany* in those first times, since the *Highlanders* still retain it to this day.) 4°. As to christianity, the instructions inform us, that the *Scots* received it four hundred years, *Baldred's* process says five hundred years, before the *English*; which would come up to the year one hundred of Christ. And the nobility's letters seem to say, that the *Scots* embraced christianity among the first, after Christ's resurrection and ascension.

5°. THE instructions and process affirm, that in consequence of our christianity, and afterwards by the famous donation of the emperor *Constantine*, *Scotland* became a *Fief* of the church of *Rome*; and they are at great pains to prove, by all the
argu-

arguments they could think of, their immediate dependence on the see of *Rome* in temporals : but withal, they do not so much as insinuate, that ever any of our kings submitted his kingdom to the pope in temporals, as indeed there was never any such thing heard of in *Scotland*. The truth is, that the *Scots* at this time (*circ. A. D. 1300*) being divided among themselves, were grievously oppressed by king *Edward*, and but faintly assisted by the *French*; so expecting no relief from abroad, but from the pope and the censures of the church, they make use of all arguments that could move him to exert his power against king *Edward* : and therefore they plead merit at his hands, by their being a most ancient people among the first that embraced christianity ; and more yet, by their being vassals to the pope, from which they inferred, that king *Edward's* claiming superiority over them was a sacrilegious invasion of the rights of the apostolical see, which was therefore more strictly obliged to protect them. In a word, they considered that the pope lying at such a distance from them, their having some dependence on him even in temporals, was incomparably better, and less burthensome, than to be vassals to king *Edward*, so heavy upon them, and so nigh at hand in the same island. Upon the whole, they say all that men in a stress will say to serve a turn, without examining matters so nicely. And for a proof that all this was merely the effect of their present pressures, when those were once over, and that king

Robert

Robert the Bruce's victorious arms had shaken off the *English* yoke, there is never a word more to be found of the kingdom's being a *Fief* of the church of *Rome* in the nobility's letter to pope *John XXIII.* (*A.D.* 1320) nor at any time after. But they think it enough to call themselves the humble and devout sons of the pope, and the kingdom the patrimony of *St. Andrew*, brother to *St. Peter*, and their special patron; being well assured that none of *St. Andrew's* successors would claim any vassalage on them.

6°. BUT the most remarkable thing to be met with in these memorials, and the most material to the subject, we are now about, is, that in them we find, for the first time in any piece I have yet met with, mention of ancient kings of *Scots* in *Britain* before the fifth or sixth age: this became a bottom for posterior writers to work upon. And thus far as to the second class of the monuments of our ancient history.

IV. BUT before we come to the third class, we have as yet two writers to mention: the one is *Andrew Winton*, who, though he probably outlived *Fordun*, yet he wrote before *Fordun's* chronicle was published, and certainly had never seen his work, and so belongs properly to this second class of the monuments of the *Scotish* history, written after the year 1291, and before the publishing *Fordun's* chronicle, which, though written in the reign of king *Robert II.* or *III.* was not published till that of king *James II.*

ANDREW

ANDREW WINTON was a canon regular of St. *Andrew's*, and prior of *Logblevin*; he wrote a chronicle, in *Scotish* metre, during the end of the reign of king *Robert III.* and beginning of that of king *James I.* There are in the register or chartulary of the priory of St. *Andrew's* (a) several authentick acts, or publick instruments of *Andrew Winton*, as prior of *Logblevin*, from the year 1395 till 1413. What precise year he died in, I do not find. His work is divided into nine books. The first five contain a kind of abstract of universal history, intermixed with such lame accounts of the *Picts* and *Scots*, as the author had met with, till the reign of *Keneth Mac-Alpin* in the ninth age. From the sixth book forwards he is more full on the *Scotish* affairs; and in the three last books he gives almost a continued history of *Scotish* matters, from *Malcolm Keanmore* till the beginning of the reign of king *James I.* where his chronicle ends about the year 1408.

THE character of this writer (as indeed of most writers of that age) is to set down with simplicity, and almost without any examination, whatever he found proper to his subject in former writers, or in the common traditions of the times in which he lived, about the matters of which he treats. By consequence, the chief thing we may

(a) *Pencs comitem de Panmure.*

learn from *Winton*, is what notions the *Scots* had of their origin, of the beginning of their monarchy, and of the other antiquities of *Scots* and *Picts* in the end of the fourteenth age, before the publishing *Fordun's* chronicle.

As to the *Scotish* antiquities, *Winton*, in his first five books, gives us the genealogy of our kings in the different ages, from *Noe* till *Fergus* son of *Erc*, the same that all our ancient writers, before *Boece*, contain. He tells the story of *Gathelgas*, or *Gatbeyl's* marrying *Scota*, the daughter of *Pharaoh*, from whom the *Scots* were so called; his coming to *Spain*; that *Simon Breac*, about thirty three generations from *Gathelglas* or *Gatbeyl*, and twenty two from *Milesdespain* or *Milefius*, came from *Spain* to *Ireland*, and began there the kingdom of the *Scots*, bringing with him the fatal stone. That the *Scots* came from *Ireland* to the north of *Britain* about four hundred and forty years before the incarnation.

BUT, what is very remarkable, he takes no particular notice of *Fergus* son of *Feradach*, called king *Fergus I.* by *Fordun* and his followers, but sets down his bare name, without any mark of distinction, among the other names in that genealogy of our kings. But as to *Fergus* the son of *Erc*, whom he calls *Fergus the Great*, *Winton* informs us, that it was he who carried over the famous stone from *Ireland* to the north of *Britain*, and who
became

became the first king of the *Scots* in this island; as it will farther appear when we come to examine that matter.

AMONG many other MSS. which I have seen of this chronicle of *Winton*, there is one belonging to the king's library, (now joined in with the *Cotton* library) at *London* (*Num. 16. D. xx.*) that appears to me the most entire and most valuable of them all. It is written upon strong paper, intermixed with vellum from place to place, and, by the form and character of it, seems to have been written towards the beginning of the fifteenth century, near the author's time. But what is most valuable in this copy is, that it appears to be the last review and edition (if I may speak so) that *Winton* made of his chronicle, containing several corrections, additions and alterations made in it upon better information.

(a) THE most material addition that this copy contains, is a compleat chronology, or series of the kings of *Scots*, from *Fergus* son of *Erch*, with the years of their reigns, down to *Eochad-Rinneval*, (*Mac Dongard - Mac Domnuil-Bric*, called by our modern writers *Eugen. V.*) This series is not in another very ancient MSS. of this chronicle in the *Cotton* (b) library, nor in any other that I have hi-

(a) Chron. *Winton*. Bibliothec. Regiæ Lond. Book IV. chap. 8.

(b) Bibl. Cotton Nero, D. XI

herto met with. It is taken from the records of *St. Andrew's*, whereof *Winton* was a canon, as appears by its conformity to the series in the (a) appendix, taken from a register or chartulary of that church, and to that of *James Gray*, both taken from the same records of that ancient church. This first part of that series in *Winton* being so rare, I shall give it in his own language with the rest of the pieces in the appendix (b). The following part of that series of our kings, which begins book VI. chap. 1. being intermixed with the rest of the history, and in all the other copies of that chronicle, I shall not follow it.

As to corrections or retrenchments that *Winton* hath made in this last review of his chronicle, one of the most remarkable is, that *Winton*, it seems, hath been advised, by persons more skilled in history, after the first editions of his chronicle appeared, to leave out, what he had advanced in the first draughts of it, that *Fergus-mac-Erch* (whom in all his draughts of it first, and last, he still makes the first king of *Scots*) began his reign about two hundred and forty years before *Cruythne*, the first king of the *Picts*, who, according to him, began only about two hundred years before the incarnation; whereas he had made the reign of *Fergus-mac-Erch*, first king of the *Scots*, to begin about four hundred and forty years before the birth of Christ. We may

(a) Append. numb. 5.

(b) Append. numb. 7.

elsewhere have occasion to observe the intricacy into which this drove him; for their being but ten or eleven generations, according to the old genealogy universally received, betwixt *Fergus-mac-Erch* and *Keneth-mac-Alpin*, who lived in the ninth century, the placing *Fergus-mac-Erch*'s reign four hundred years before the incarnation, was followed by this absurdity, that ten or twelve generations behoved to extend to twelve centuries. *Winton* himself had observed (a) this in the first draughts of his chronicle, and after useless efforts to get rid of it, he is forced at last to leave it to others, or rather to give it up, and to own that the *Picts* were already reigning in *Albany*, before *Fergus-mac-Erch*, first king of the *Scots*, began to reign. It seems that *Winton* was advised to omit all this in the last review and correction of his chronicle, where accordingly we meet no more with it.

As to *Pictish* matters, he brings down their settlement, and beginning of their monarchy, two hundred years later than that of the *Scots*, as it was usual with all the other *Scotish* writers to bring it as low as they could, in order to give the *Scots* a preference of antiquity before the *Picts*, as it hath been (b) observed. For which reason *Winton* tells us, that the *Picts* settled in *Britain*

(a) Wint. Chron. fol. 37, 43, &c. Bibl. Cott. Nero, D. XI.

(b) Supra, p. 125, 126, &c.

two hundred years only before the incarnation; that their kingdom lasted about one thousand and sixty years; and that they were subdued by *Kenneth-mac-Alpin*, A. D. 843. He gives us the names of the *Pictish* kings from *Cruythne* their first king, much in the same manner as the extract of the register of *St. Andrew* contains them.

THE other writer, who belongs to this second class, is Mr. *James Gray*, a publick notary, and priest of the diocese of *Dunblain*. He was a person of character in his time, being successively secretary to the two first archbishops of *St. Andrew's* after *Patrick Graham*; to wit, to *William Schevez* and to prince *James* duke of *Ross*, brother to king *James IV.*

THERE is extant, in the hands of the learned M. *John Kerr*, professor of *Greek* in the royal college of the *Old-town* of *Aberdeen*, a collection of pieces made by this *James Gray* for his own use, and fitted to his calling, which M. *Kerr* was pleased to communicate to me. Among other curious pieces in this collection, there is a short chronicle, in which, after setting down a short account of the five first ages of the world, according to the common calculation of those times, there follows, with the title of *Cronica brevis*, in the first place, a genealogy of the kings of *Scotland*, from *Adam* down to king *James IV.* just the same that is given by all other writers that treat of it, before

the new genealogy produced by *Hector Boece* appeared. This genealogy inserted by *James Gray*, as it differs entirely, as well as all the old ones, as we have seen, from that of *Boece*; so it agrees with all the old ones, except in mistakes and faults of copyists, whereof the chief are, that the transcriber, by mistake, takes sometimes the surnames in the genealogy for a new name, and so multiplies, by consequence, the descents or the generations, by making one descent of the name, and another of the surname, thus: instead of *Eakak* or *Eachach Munremore*, *cujus filius fuit Erch*, *cujus filius Fergus*, &c. he has read, *Eakak* *cujus filius fuit Munre*, *cujus filius fuit Erth more*, &c. At other times, by a contrary mistake, he joins two names or descents in one, thus: instead of *Forgo* or *Fergus*, *cujus filius fuit Maynus*, *cujus filius fuit*, &c. as it is in all other copies of that genealogy, he hath *Forgo Magnus* (reading *g* for *y*, and joining two names) *cujus filius fuit*, &c.

IN the next place, *James Gray*, though he supposes (according to a tradition received among the Scots, as we have seen, from about the twelfth age) that they came to *Britain* four hundred and forty three years before the incarnation; and insinuates, as *Winton* doth, that they had kings from the beginning, or that their kingdom began with their first settlement in *Britain*, *Notandum quod Regnum Scotiæ incepit ante Incarnationem, A. D. 443.* which was an opinion received among the Scots, since the debates before pope *Boniface VIII.* against

against king *Edward I.* about their independency, as we have seen elsewhere; yet when *James Gray* comes to set down the series of the kings of *Scotland*, he follows exactly the extracts of the ancient *Scotish* chronicles, such as they were long before these debates with king *Edward I.* It being manifest, by the text of the chronicle, or abstract of our chronicles, that *James Gray* had before him, that it was written during the reign of king *William*, and before the end of the twelfth age, from these words, where giving an account of the number of years that the *Scots* had reigned since the end of the *Pictish* kingdom, or its union with that of the *Scots*, he says, it was only three hundred and thirty seven years and five months. *Summa Scotorum post Pictos 337 ann. & 5 mens.* Now whatever year be assigned to the end of the *Pictish* monarchy, whether 839, as *Fordun* reckons, or 842, as it seems more probable, the *Epoch* of the chronicle, that *James Gray* copied, will be towards the end of the twelfth age, *A. D.* 1176. or 1169. during the reign of king *William*. And this copy of *James Gray*, bating faults of transcribers, which are many, especially in slipping over some few of the kings names, and in the numerical cyphers of the years of some reigns, agrees perfectly with the extract already mentioned of the old register of *St. Andrew's*, in the series of the kings of the *Scots* and *Picts*, and in the order in which they place them. Both of them begin with these words: *Fergus filius Erch primus regnavit in Scotia tribus annis*

annis ultra Dromalbain, &c. Dovenghart fil. Fergus quinque annis regnavit. Congal. fil. Dovenghart, &c. and continue down the succession till king Alpin, of whom they both give the same account in the same words: Alpin filius Heoghed annuine 3 annis regnavit. Hic occisus est in Galwathea postquam eam penitus destruxit & devastavit. Et hinc translatum est regnum Scotorum in regnum Pictorum.

AFTER that, both the register and James Gray set down the catalogue or series of the Pictish kings, beginning both in the same words: *Cruithne fil. Kynne clemens judex accepit monarchiam Pictorum & 50 an. regnavit, &c. and both finish them in the same manner: Drust or Durst, fil. Ferat 3 annis regnavit. Hic occisus est apud Forteviot: secundum alios apud Sconam a Scottis.* And then they both resume the series or catalogue of the Scottish kings, from Keneth Mac-Alpin, in the same words thus: *Kinath Mac-Alpin XVI. ann. regn. super Scottos destructis Pictis & mortuus est in Forteviot & sepultus in Tona insula: ubi tres filii Erch scilicet Fergus, Loarn & Oengus sepulti fuerunt. Hic mira calliditate duxit Scotos de Argadia in terram Pictorum.* From this, Kynath or Keneth, the first king after the union, they both carry down the catalogue of the kings of Scotland; to wit, the register of St. Andrew's, till the second or third year of king Alexander III. about which time it was written, and James Gray till Malcolm Keanmore; where perhaps the chronicle, whence he extracted it, ended.

And,

And, after giving a short ecclesiastical kind of chronology, he resumes that of the *Scotish* kings at *Malcolm Keanmore*, and carries it down to his own time.

By all this it appears, that either *James Gray* hath copied the register of *St. Andrew's*, or, which is more likely, that both he and the register have followed the same original; that is, the records of *St. Andrew's*: which *James Gray* had a fair opportunity of doing, during his abode several years in that city, as secretary to two archbishops; which gave him ready access to all that had been preserved of records in that ancient church. And thus the agreeing testimony of these two writers confirm each other; and assure us of the series and succession of the *Scotish* kings, such as they were contained in their ancient annals and histories before the year 1291.

I cannot finish this account of *James Gray* without taking notice that he is probably the same person mentioned at the end of the second book of the MS. *Scotichronicon*, (one of the fullest of that kind) belonging to the honourable family of *Panmure*. The words of this MS. are; *Explicit liber secundus Scotichronicon 9 Januar. in Edinburg. oppido, A. D. 1480. per me magnum Macculloch*, (and in another hand) *& per me Jacobum Gray illuminatus*. If this was the same *James Gray*, author of the aforesaid catalogue of our kings, as both this

ther monastery books, (except that of *Maytrofs*) such as *Liber Paslattenfis*, *Cuprenfis*, *Sconenfis*, &c. were nothing else but copies of *Fordun*, till the death of king *David I.* with some few interpolations of their own, and a continuation of his history down to the death of king *James I.* and these copies of *Fordun*, with the continuation, is what is called *Scotichronicon*. Of all which there were also several abridgments: whereof a large account may be found in *Dr. Nicholson's Scottish historical library*; and in *M. Hearne's* remarks and appendixes to his edition of *Fordun*: to which I refer for brevity.

II. To this third class of our writers ought to be referred, a MS. chronicle of *Scotland*, translated from *Latin* into *French* by one *Grem. Domate*, and dedicated to *John* duke of *Albany* in the year of our Lord 1519. This MS. belongs to the library of the abbey of *St. Geneoveve* in *Paris*. It is in folio, marked M 1. It is a very literal translation into *French* of *Fordun*, with the same continuator, which in the *Bodleian* library, *Cod. MS.* 3888, bears the title of bishop *Elphinston's* history: but it would seem by this MS. that the original was written by order of the abbot of *Dunfermlin*; and probably the copy that *Domate* made use of, belonged to that abbey.

THIS translator hath made many mistakes in his translation, and the copy is very defective.

What

What seems most remarkable in it, is an appendix in eight leaves on vellum, containing a kind of abridgment of the *Scotish* history, with pictures of the kings, from *Galabel* or *Gaybel* and *Scota* downwards, in very coarse miniature: and here we have a first essay of the names of these ancient kings of *Scots* that are said to have preceded king *Fergus* son of *Erc*. Their names, according to this writer, are as follows:

1. *GALAHUEL*, or *Gaybel*, and *Scota*. 2. *Iliber*. 3. *Himec*. 4. *Nonacl*. 5. *Micelium* (*Milefius*.) 6. *Bartholon*. 7. Another *Micelio*. 8. *Simon Breac*. 9. *Ethac Rothsay*. 10. *Fergus*. 11. *Reither*. 12. *Maher*. 13. *Anonyme*. 14. *Jayr*. 15. *Eteorac*, in the time of *Dioclesian*. 16. *Phaleg*, in the time of *Carausius*. 17. *Eugenius*. 18. *Hurgust*, (who was king of the *Picts*, otherwise called *Eubotha*.) 19. *Fergus*, (this was *Fergus II.* son of *Erc*) and from him he continues the ordinary names of the kings, as in *Fordun*, with their pictures, till king *James I*; but as the number of kings he mentions before *Fergus II.* are far short of the forty-five, which *Fordun* says we had, so they are very different names and personages from those forty that *Boece* found about six years after *Domate*, in his famous MSS. of *Veremund*, &c. However, we may observe by this, that attempts were made to fill up this gap of the history before *Fergus II.* which *Fordun* and his continuators had left. All of them, tho' they tell us there were

forty

forty-five kings before *Fergus II.* yet they neither give us any account of them, nor so much as their names, except of three, *Fergus I. Rether,* and *Eugenius.*

III. To this third class of our writers belongs also *John Major's* history; it being a short abridgment of *Fordun*, or of some of his continuators, intermixed with an abstract of the *English* history, and with many reflexions and scholastick reasonings of his own. It gives us no farther account of the forty-five kings before *Fergus II.* than *Fordun.* It was printed very incorrectly at *Paris, A. D. 1521,* whilst the author was absent in *Scotland.* Among other errors of copyists, or of the print in *John Major's* printed history, ought without doubt to be reckoned this passage, *L. 2. c. 1. Inter hunc Fergusum filium Erth & primum Fergusum filium Ferchardi quindecim Scotorum erant Reges, & ultra Septingentorum annorum tempus, &c.* for all the copies of *Fordun*, (whereof *Major* is only an abstract) have forty-five kings; and in *Major's* own account, in the following seven hundred years from *Fergus II.* till *Edgar*, there are fifty-one kings, that is, above thrice fifteen: so this must be visibly a mistake of the cyphers 15 for 45, either in *Major's* copy, or in that which he followed, which the publisher hath printed at length by mistake.

IV. To the same class ought to be reduced a short abridgment of the *Scottish* history, by the
title

title of *Brevis Chronica*, annexed to *Winton's* chronicle MS. in the lawyers library at *Edinburgh*. This short chronicle begins with *Gathelus* and *Scota*, and brings down the history to the reign of king *Robert II.* Tho' the author lived after *Boece*, and even after his translator *Bellenden*; yet as to our remote antiquities, and all that passed before *Fergus II.*; he is to be classed among the followers of *Fordun*, of whom he is an exact abridger, till *Fergus II.*'s time, and hath no more than he of the first forty kings, not so much as their names, tho' he had before him *Boece's* history translated by *Bellenden*, and follows him from *Fergus II.* downwards, in the character of our kings; and from *Constantine III.* he generally quotes book and chapter of *Bellenden's* translation of *Boece*. This his designedly omitting all the story, and even the names of the first forty kings of *Boece*, which he had before him, shews plainly, that *Boece's* accounts of them, over and above what *Fordun* had left, was not at first relished even by all our *Scotish* writers.

§. 4. Or fourth class of *Scotish* writers; of *Boece*, *Buchanan*, and their followers.

I have already treated at so great length of *Heitor Boece*, *George Buchanan*, and their chief followers performances, that it would be superfluous to insist farther on them in this place. What more may be proper to say of them will come in more seasonably elsewhere.

CHAP. II.

Of the true Epoch of the first Settlement of the Scots, and beginning of their monarchy in Britain.

AFTER the account I have given in the preceding chapter, of the writers of the *Scottish* history, and of the remains we have of monuments or records, concerning the most ancient part of it, I am now to treat, 1°. Of the time of the first settlement of the *Scots* in *Britain*. 2°. Of the first king of the *Scots* in *Britain*. 3°. Of the beginning of his reign, which is the *Epoch* of the monarchy of the *Scots* in this island. 4°. For a more full satisfaction, and a general answer to the objections against the system of the high antiquities of the *Scots*, which I have here set down, I shall conclude the essays, by an account of the different steps and degrees by which the high antiquities of the *Scots* seem to have grown up by length of time, in the several hands through which they passed, into the plan of history in which they were delivered by our modern writers.

ART.

ART. I. *Of the first settlement of the Scots in Britain.*

THE opinion of the coming in of the *Scots*, and of their having been settled in *Ireland* many ages before the incarnation, having been received among the *Irish*, as we see by *Nennius*, before the ninth age, it is no wonder that the *Scots* in *Britain*, looking on themselves, as descended of the *Scots* in *Ireland*, and having among them bards of the same genius as those in *Ireland*, should have afterwards, by degrees, claimed to themselves a high antiquity.

BUT having already shewn the uncertainty of the grounds on which the *Irish* build their pretensions to remote antiquity in the *Scotish* line, and having proved that there is much more ground, from the best information that we can have of ancient times, to be persuaded that the settlement of the *Scots* even in *Ireland*, was only about the time of the incarnation, or even after it; from this it follows, that the settlement of the *Scots* in *Britain* must be yet of a later date, since it would seem natural that there should be some time allowed to the *Scots* in *Ireland*, to establish themselves there, and multiply so, as to be able to send out a colony to the northern parts of *Britain*.

BUT

BUT if we suppose what is credible enough, and wants not ground in antiquity, that the *Scots* did not settle at first in a full body and by force in *Britain*, but came in by degrees; that they first possessed some of the western islands, and coming over in small numbers, obtained habitations, with the allowance of the *Picts*, on the north-western coasts, where they lived at first united to the *Picts* in *Britain*, and joined with them in their expeditions against the *Romans*, or provincial *Britons*. In this supposition, the first coming in of the *Scots* to *Britain*, may have been not long after their settlement in *Ireland*. Besides, that in the supposition of the *Scots* coming originally from *Scandia*, (of which we have (a) treated elsewhere) whilst the greatest number of them passed forward to *Ireland*, some of them might have stopped at the western islands, or coasts of *Britain*, and there fixed their seats by consent of the *Picts*, willing to have them auxiliaries in their wars against the *Romans* and *Britons*, as we observe they were, from the first time of the *Scots* settling in *Britain*. And a farther proof of the early settlement of the *Scots* in *Britain* is, that the first author that speaks of them (b), mentions them in *Britain* about the year 360; as we shall shew.

(a) Supra, pag. 539.

(b) Ammian. l. 20.

(a) *BEDE* leaves it uncertain, whether the *Scots* settled at first among the *Picts* by force or by favour; [*Scoti*] *Duce Reuda de Hybernia egressi vel amicitia vel ferro sibimet inter eos. (Pictos) sedes quas hactenus habent, vindicarunt. A quo, viz, duce, usque hodie Dalreudini vocantur.* *Bede* adds, that the *Scots*, on their coming to *Britain*, settled on the north side of the *Firth* of *Cluyd*, which was of old the boundary of the *Britons* and *Picts* on the west of *Britain*. *Bede* informs us here, that in his time the *Scots* in *Britain* were called as yet *Dalreudini*. *Nennius* (b) also in the ninth age calls the possessions of the *Scots* in *Britain*, *Regiones Dalrieta*; and long after *Nennius*, the anonymous writer, printed in the appendix (c) to this essay, calls the kingdom of the *Scots* in *Britain*, before their union with the *Picts*, by the name of (d) *Regnum Dalrieta*, or kingdom of *Dalrede*.

THE *Irish* (e) writers give ample accounts of the origine of the name *Dalriada*. These accounts may be seen set down at great length by *Dr. Kenedy* (f). They derive the name *Dalriada*,

(a) *Bed. Hist.* l. 1. c. 1.

(c) *Append. num.* 3.

(b) *Nennius*, c. 9.

(d) *Iste [Kenethus] biennio antequam veniret Pictaviam Dalrieta regnum suscepit. Append. n. 3.*

(e) *Usser. Antiq. Brit.* p. 320, 321.

(f) *Ken. Genral.* p. 103, 104, &c.

not without probability from *Eocha Riada*, who, they say, was also called *Carbre Riada* (son of king *Conar*) the same with *Bede's Reuda*. He is called in the best copies of the old genealogy of the kings of *Scots*, *Eocha*, or *Eochad Riada* or *Riede*, (as may be seen in the genealogical table, pag. 235.) and, in the later and more incorrect copies, the name is written *Ethod Riede*; from whence is derived *Boece's* twenty fifth king *Ethodius I* who reigned, according to *Buchanan*, *A. D.* 163.

THE same *Irish* writers acknowledge, that the *Scots* came from *Ireland* to *Britain* under the conduct of this *Eocha Riada*, son of *Conar*, who, according to them, was king of *Ireland*, and died *A. D.* 219: so the coming over of his son *Eocha Riada* with the *Scots* into *Britain*, may have happened about the beginning of the third age. But it must have fallen out more early, if we could depend upon the tenor of the old genealogy of our kings, such as I have shewn (a) that all our writers do uniformly deliver before *Boece's* new genealogy appeared. For, according to this old genealogy (b), *Eocha Riada Mac-Conar*, was, in the thirteenth degree before *Erc*, father to *Fergus*: so that though this *Fergus mac Erch* be placed in the end of the fifth or beginning of the sixth century, allowing thirty years to each generation

(a) *Supra*, p. 236, 237, &c.

(b) *Vide* the tables, p. 235.

the coming in of *Eocha Riada* with the *Scots* to *Britain*, would have happened in the beginning of the second century; which would have been too early, supposing that the *Scots* came into *Ireland* only about the time of the incarnation; since some length of time must be allowed to the *Scots*, after their coming into *Ireland*, to settle themselves and multiply in that island, before they could send out any colonies.

It were easy to solve this difficulty, by the method that some *Irish* writers make use of in like cases. For when they find in their genealogies the number of generations too great to agree with any period of time for settling a chronology, they do not hesitate to reduce these exorbitant generations to the precise number that fits their purpose; making no difficulty to cut off as many generations, as they find expedient of these old genealogies composed by their *senachies*; notwithstanding all the regulations of their parliaments of *Tarach*, of the committee of *Nine*, and all the strict examinations that they pretend (a) were made of these productions of their *scanachies*, and the precautions for preserving them. We have elsewhere (b) observed their reductions of this kind; and *O Flaherty* alone could furnish many examples of it. And, not to depart from the present case,

(a) D. Kened. *Geneal. Pref.* p. 17, 18, &c.

(b) *Supra*, p. 485, 486, &c.

they tell us (a), that there are, according to their antiquaries, eleven descents or generations from *Eocha Riada* till *Fergus* the son of *Erc*, which, as they think, is two generations more than enough for that period of time: and accordingly Dr. *Kennedy* (b) is at great pains to make a reduction of them to a smaller number, and strikes off two of them.

BUT as all these genealogies, and other domestick accounts of the remote antiquities of the *Irish* and *Scots*, appear very uncertain, considering the little probability there is, that they had, before the fifth age, the use of letters, or any other sure means to preserve true accounts, of past transactions; we must therefore endeavour to find some light into this dark subject, of the first coming in of the *Scots* to *Britain*, in the more certain accounts given us by the *Roman* writers.

(c) *AMMIAN MARCELLIN*, the first writer that mentions the *Scots*, gives us the following account. That *A. D.* 360, towards the latter end of the reign of the emperor *Constantius* in *Britain*, the *Scots* and the *Picts*, two fierce people,

(a) D. Ken. Gen. p. 115.

(b) Ibid. p. 116, 117, &c.

(c) In Britannii Scotorum Pictorumque gentium ferarum excursu, rupta quiete, condicta limitibus loca vastata sunt, & implicabat formido vicinas provincias, præteritarum cladum congerie fessas, &c. *Ammian. lib. 20.*

ple, having violated the peace, and broken into the fixed limits of the empire in that island, were ravaging the provinces of it, which filled with terror the provincials spent and wearied with their former invasions in times past. Upon this news, the *Cæsar Julian*, then residing in *Gaul*, began to give orders for repulsing of them, &c. which, nevertheless, as appears by the following part of *Ammian's* history, was not effectually done till about the year 367 or 368, that the general *Theodosius* was sent over to *Britain* by *Valentinian I.*

It is to be remarked in this narrative of *Ammian*, that though this be the first time that the *Scots* are mentioned by him, or indeed by any certain writer of or before these times, yet it appears, by him, that the *Scots* were already looked upon not only as formidable enemies of the empire in *Britain*, but that this was not the first time that the *Scots*, in conjunction with the *Picts*, had invaded and ravaged the Roman provinces in this island, since he adds, that the provincials were struck with so much the greater terror of these enemies, that they were already quite wearied and spent with a great number of ravages they had made in former times. *Prætoriarum cladum congerie fessas*, &c.

FROM this, I conceive, it follows, that the *Scots* must have been some considerable time before this settled in the island, before they could be

able to make so considerable a figure in *Britain* as to be taken notice of by *Ammian*, as being no less dangerous enemies of the empire in *Britain* than the *Picts* or *Caledonians*.

Now this may very well agree with the placing the coming in of *Eocha Riada* (the same as *Beda's Reuda*) the first leader of the colony of the *Scots* into *Britain* about the beginning of the third age. It is like he brought over, at first, but a small number, not to give jealousy to the ancient inhabitants of these parts, the *Caledonians*; but in the space of one hundred, or about one hundred and fifty years, that passed betwixt the time of their first coming in, and their being mentioned by *Ammian*, *A. D.* 360, they might have so increased both within themselves, and by accession of new auxiliaries from *Ireland*, that the *Caledonians* or *Picts*, finding them serviceable in their wars against the *Romans* and provincial *Britains*, were easily disposed to enlarge the possessions of the *Scots* on the north-western coasts of the island, in proportion as the *Caledonians* themselves (a) enlarged their own bounds, by new conquests, to the south of the *Friths*. And thence it happened that the *Scots* made so considerable a figure in *Britain*, according to *Ammian*, about the middle of the sixth century. But we might have had a much more full account, both of the *Scots* and of

(a) *Supra*, p. 93, 94.

the other ancient inhabitants of *Britain*, had that book of *Ammian* been preserved, in which, as he tells (a) us, he had given a description of *Britain*.

ACCORDING to the antiquaries of *Ireland*, this colony of *Scots*, which was brought over and settled in *Britain* by *Eocha Riada*, began a lasting establishment in this island. Our writers (b), says *D. Kenedy*, unanimously tell us, that *Eocha* (he calls him *Carbre*) *Riada*, was the founder of the Scottish sovereignty in *Britain*; but they make him only a captain, as *Bede* does, or conductor; who ingratiated himself so far with the *Picts*, by his and his childrens good service against the *Britons*, that they consented that they and their followers should continue among them. It is true, this same writer adds a little afterwards, that these first *Scots*, who settled in *Britain*, had not laid aside thoughts of returning back some time or other into their mother-country *Ireland*; but their continuing ever after; they and their posterity, to inhabit *Britain*, demonstrates that they had no such thoughts: and this writer himself tells us (c), that about one hundred years after their coming, *Fergus Ulidian*, who, according to him, was great grandchild to *Eocha Riada*, and chief of the *Dalriadians* in *Ireland*, did, about the beginning of the fourth century,

(a) *Ammian*. p. 347.

(b) *Ken. Geneal.* p. 107.

(c) *Ibid*, p. 130.

strengthen the Dalriadan colony in Pictland with new supplies, as his successors continued to do from time to time: And he informs us afterwards; (a) that about A. D. 386, Niel king of Ireland came over to the north of Britain, and oblig'd the Picts to draw off what families they had in Cantyre and Argyle, and suffer the Dalriadys to inhabit alone that side of the country, and live separately without any mixture of Pictish families; to the end they might be the more secure from any insults or oppression of the Picts, who, it seems, were become jealous of their increasing, and therefore had endeavoured to keep them under, and dispers'd them in different Cantons, mixed with Pictish Families.

I RELATE this on the credit of this Writer, who gives us these particulars of the Dalriadys, or Scots in Britain in these early times, as taken from the accounts of them, left by the Irish Seachachies. By which it appears at least, that the traditions of their antiquaries were, that the Scots, from their first coming into the north of Britain, and beginning a settlement under Eocha Riada their first leader, towards the beginning of the third century, had still continued, without interruption, to inhabit those parts till this time, that is, till towards the end of the fourth age.

BUT we have a more certain account from the Roman and British writers, of their continuing

(a) Ken. Gen p. 133.

to make a considerable figure in *Brit^am*, from *A. D.* 360. when the name of *Scots* is first mentioned by *Ammian*, and a chronological series of their expeditions, in conjunction with the *Caledonians* or *Picts*, against the *Romans* and provincial *Britains*, as long as *Britain* remained united to the *Empire*; and down till the fifth age.

WE have already given account from *Ammian*, of that irruption of the *Scots* and *Picts* on the provincial *Britains*, *A. D.* 360. Now the *Cæsar Julian*, who was then in *Gaul*, being wholly taken up with the ambitious design of usurping the empire, and supplanting his uncle the emperor *Constantius*, put no effectual remedy to the disorders of *Britain*: So the *Picts* and *Scots* made daily new progress, and it appears by the same (a) *Ammian*, that upon *Valentinian I's* coming to the empire, *A. D.* 364. he found among other *Roman* provinces invaded by the barbarous nations in their neighbourhood, those of *Britain* exposed to the ravages, not only of the *Picts* and *Scots*, but that the example of their impunity had drawn also in upon the *Britains* other new enemies, to wit, the *Saxons* and the *Atiacoti*.

VALENTINIAN finding the empire attack'd all at once on so many sides, was not in condition so soon to send assistance to the *Britains*;

(a) *Ammian. lib. 26, pag. 315.*

so the *Picts* and *Scots* advanced daily in the *British* provinces; and their numbers and boldness increasing by their success, they killed *Follafandus* (a) a *Roman* general, and *Nellarides* count of the maritime coasts. At last, *A. D.* 367, the emperor receiving daily more terrifying accounts of the progress of these enemies in *Britain*, found it necessary to confide the conduct of that war to one of the most famous generals of the empire, *Theodosius*, father to the first emperor of that name. *THEODOSIUS* (b), being arrived in *Britain* with a powerful army, obliged the enemies to retire, delivered the city of *London* from the apprehensions it had been expos'd to, by the approach of these Enemies; and, in a word, forced them out of the bounds of the empire in *Britain*. The poet *Claudian*, in two of his panegyricks on the emperor *Honorius*, grand-child to this general *Theodosius*, gives the following account of this expedition in these words in (c) one of them.

Ille levis Mauros, nec falso nomine Pictos
Edomuit; Scotumque vago mucrone secutus
Fregit Hyberboreas remis audacibus undas,

(a) Ammian. lib. 27. p. 346.

(b) Idem, pag. 347.

(c) *Claudian. Panegyri. in III. Consulat. Honor. Imperat. pag. 114.*

And in the other (a),

Ille Caledoniis posuit qui castra pruinis.

———— *incaluit Pictorum sanguine Thule;*

Scotorum cumulos flevit glacialis Ierne.

THESE expressions are suppos'd by some learned *English* writers to import, that this *Roman* general chased the *Scots* over the Sea into *Ireland*. But we are not, I conceive, to press poetical hyperboles to the rigour of the letter; otherwise we must suppose also, that *Theodosius* pursued the *Picts* to *Thule*, and there made a great slaughter of them: whereas 'tis like, that neither *Claudian*, nor the *Romans* knew where *Thule* was situated: however, as to the *Scots*, it appears to me, that long after their first settlement in *Britain*, they still continued to live in a close union with the *Scots* in *Ireland*, as being one and the same people; and that besides those already established in *Argyle*, *Cantyre*, in the western isles, &c. others of them were accustomed in those early times to come over in greater or smaller numbers from *Ireland* to *Britain*, as occasion offer'd, either to enlarge the possessions of the *Scots* in *Britain*, or to march as auxiliaries in conjunction with the *Scots* in *Britain*, and, with the *Picts*, to make inroads or excursions into the *Roman* provinces, and that in case of any

(a) *Claudian*, Paneg. in IV Consulat. Honor. Imp. p. 119.

great defeat; as it happened in this expedition of *Theodosius*, they had always a safe retreat, some of them to the extremities of the western coasts, or islands of *Britain*; others of them, especially those that had come over only as adventurers or auxiliaries, back to *Ireland*, to wait, when the enemy retired, for a new opportunity of preying on the *Britains*.

HOWEVER, as to the poet *Claudian's* expressions, the words *hyperboreas undas* may be at least as naturally understood of the northern friths, over which this general pursued the *Scots* and *Picts*, as of the ocean, and supposing by *Ierne* is meant *Ireland*, it was very natural for the *Scots* in *Ireland* to lament the slaughter of so great a number, *cumulos*, of their friends and kinsmen, as *Theodosius* had killed of the *Scots* in *Britain*: Besides the loss of a great number of adventurers or auxiliary *Scots*, natives of *Ireland* that came over, as it hath been observed, in these early times to join those in *Britain* in their expeditions against the provincials.

THEODOSIUS, to secure them against those irruptions of their northern enemies, fortify'd anew the northern wall, and made it again the boundary of the empire, as it had been settled 230 years before under the empire of *Antonin*, and placed (a) guards and garrisons on it to watch and oppose

(a) *Limites vigiliis tuebatur & prætenturis.* *Ammian.*

the enemy's motions. But the most remarkable action of this general in *Britain*, was the erecting all the territories betwixt the southern wall in *Northumberland*, and the northern at the *Friiths* into a fifth *Roman* province in *Britain*; and calling it after the emperor, by the name of *Valentia*. I abridge those accounts which may be treated of more at length in the second part of this essay. *Theodosius* left the island, and returned in triumph, *A. D.* 370, to the emperor.

A. D. 383, *Maximus*, having usurped the empire in *Britain*, before he left the island, repulsed with great vigour, and overcame the *Scots* and *Picts*, according to *Gregory* (a) of *Tours*, and the chronicle of *Tiro Prosper* (b); and this is all the ground I find in ancient writers of the subversion of the *Scotish* state by *Maximus*, which is set down at such length in *Fordun*: but their defeat by *Theodosius* looks more like a subversion, than what happen'd under *Maximus*, who, upon his usurpation, passed immediately over to *Gaul*, and surprized the emperor *Gratian*, having carried over with him all the regular troops from *Britain*.

A. D. 398, the *Scots* and *Picts*, having made use of the opportunity of *Maximus's* carrying along with him to *Gaul* the flower of the *British*

(a) *Greg. Turon's hist.*

(b) *Tiro Prosper. in antiq. Iect. Canis.*

youth and best troops, had made such great progress in ravaging the *British* provinces, that these provinces were almost quite ruined, and lived in perpetual dread and terror of the *Picts*, who were joined, not only by the *Scots* in *Britain*, but by new levies of *Scots* in *Ireland*. This account of the miserable condition of these provinces being brought to *Stilicho* the *Roman* general, under *Honorius* the emperor, he sent over new forces to *Britain* against the *Scots* and *Picts*; and caused the northern wall to be fortified anew against their irruptions. All this is in short related by *Claudian* (a), where he brings in *Britain* lamenting its perishing condition, till *Stilicho* sent over those forces to its assistance.

Me quoque vicinis pereuntem gentibus, inquit
 [Britannia]
Munivit Stilicho, totam cum Scotus Iernem
Movit, & infesto spumavit remige Tethys.
Illius effectum curis, ne bella timerem
Scotica, ne Pictum tremere, &c.

BUT these auxiliary forces did not remain long in *Britain*; for *A. D.* 402, among the several troops which, by *Stilicho*'s order, came to join him before the battle of *Pollentum* against the *Goths*, *Claudian* marks among others the *Roman* troops, that guarded the wall in *Britain* in the extremity of the island against the irruptions of the *Scots* and *Picts*.

(a) *Claudian. lib. 2. de Laudibus Stilichonis.*

*Venit & extremis legio Britannis,
 Quæ Scoto dat fræna truci, ferroque notatas
 Perlegit exanimæ Piælo moriente figuras (a).*

The poet here, by an ordinary metaphor, calls the forces that guarded the frontiers of the *British* provinces, a legion, though there used to be always more than one legion placed there to oppose these northern enemies. However, the removal of these troops gave these enemies a favourable opportunity of breaking in upon the provinces.

A. D. 409, the *Britains*, after calling in vain for assistance against these enemies from the *Romans*, and encouraged, says *Zozimus* (b), by letters from the emperor *Honorius*, to do the best they could for themselves, resolved at last to shake off their dependence on the empire, and endeavour to defend their country with their own forces; but they soon found the dismal effects of their presuming too much on their own forces, as appears by the relation of *Gildas* and of *Bede*.

BUT before I proceed farther, it is necessary to take notice of some expressions of these two last historians, which some learned *English* and *Irish* writers have endeavoured to wrest against the

(a) Claudian. de bello Getico, pag. 107.

(b) Zozim. hist. lib. 6. pag. 376 & 381.

ancient settlement of the *Scots* in *Britain*, in the manner that I have here accounted for it.

AND 1^o. 'tis to be observed, that *Bede*, after having in the first chapter of his history given a short account of the first coming of the *Picts* and *Scots* into *Britain*, as being next to the *Britains*, the most ancient inhabitants of this island; he never mentions again either the one or the other of them; till the twelfth chapter, when, upon the occasion above-mentioned of the *Britains* shaking off *A. D.* 409. all dependence upon the empire, and resolving to defend their country by their own forces, they became an easy prey to the northern inhabitants of the island, the *Scots* and the *Picts*, the terror of whom forced the *Britains* at last to call in the *Saxons* to their aid; which gave occasion to *Bede* to mention again the *Scots* and the *Picts*.

FROM this we may learn (and 'tis of importance to take notice of it for many other occurrences in the history of these northern people) how weak the arguments are, which are drawn from the bare silence of *Bede*, concerning the transactions among the *Scots* and the *Picts*; or indeed, concerning any of the inhabitants of *Britain*, excepting the *Saxons* or *English* alone. For whosoever will read *Bede's* history with attention, will easily find, that after the *Saxons* or *English* (the great object of his history) were come and settled in the island, he scarce ever mentions either the *Scots* or the

the *Piēts*, or even the old *Britains*; but upon occasion of the *Saxons*, and of some transaction among those ancient people, necessary to give light into the history of the *Saxons*. Thus, as it would be a very false conclusion to argue from the silence of *Bede*, that there never were in *Britain* any such people as *Caledonians*, because *Bede* never mentions them, or that the same people known by the name of *Piēts*, and the *Scots*, from their first entry into this island, had lain wholly unactive and made no figure in *Britain* till *A. D.* 409; whereas the contrary is evident by the certain testimony of the *Roman* writers concerning the *Caledonians* or *Piēts*, and by that of the same *Roman* and even *Irish* writers concerning the *Scots*, as we have just now made appear; so it were against the equity and candor becoming a faithful writer, to refuse to credit any other transaction among the old *Britains*, *Piēts* or *Scots* precisely, because it is not mentioned by *Bede*. However, it must be acknowledg'd at the same time, that the *Scots*, and all the other inhabitants of *Britain*, owe very great obligation to *Bede* for the knowledge of a great many ancient accounts of their history, of which, without *Bede*'s mentioning them, they had remained wholly ignorant: tho' he generally does not mention them, but as far as they interfere with the church history of the *Saxons*, or *English*, which is all that *Bede* promises by the title of his book, *Historia ecclesiastica gentis Anglorum*.

GILDAS
3

2° *GILDAS*, speaking of the *Picts* and *Scots*, calls them (a) *Transmarine gentes*. From which expression bishop *Usher* and Dr. *Stillingfleet* would conclude, that the *Scots*, who invaded the *Britains*, were as yet; that is, about *A. D.* 422. all of them inhabitants of *Ireland*, and none of them hitherto settled in *Britain*; but besides, that *Gildas*, in this place, calls equally the *Picts*, as much as the *Scots*, *transmarine*, or a people from beyond the seas; tho' no body doubts, but the *Picts* were long before settled in the Island. *Bede*, who in the first chapter of his history, had described the *Scots* among the ancient inhabitants of this island, reckoning the *Britains* the first, in the next place the *Picts*, and the *Scots* the third people who settled in *Britain*; accordingly explains this expression of *Gildas*, and informs us, that the *Picts* and *Scots* are called *Transmarine gentes*; people from beyond the seas, (b) *not that they dwelt out of the island of Britain, but that their habitations in the island were separated from those of the Britains by the two arms of the Sea, or the friths of Clyde and Forth.*

(a) *Gild. cap. 11.*

(b) *Transmarinas autem dicimus has gentes [Pictorum & Scotorum] non quod extra Britanniam essent positæ, sed quia a parte Britonum erant remotæ, duobus finibus maris interjacentibus, quorum unus ab orientali mare, alter ab occidentali Britanniae terras longe lateque irumpit, quamvis ad se invicem pertingere possint, &c. Bed. hist. lib. 1. c. 15.*

U u

3° *Usher*

3.^o *Usher* and *Stillingsfleet* seem to triumph upon another expression of (a) *Gildas* copied by *Bede*, (b) *Revertuntur impudentes grassatores byberni domum* And where could be, say they, the home of the *Hyberni*, but *Hybernia* or *Ireland*? Whence they infer, that the *Scots* were as yet about *A. D.* 447. still inhabitants of *Ireland*. But in the first place, it ought to be considered, that in the language of *Bede* and of other writers of those times, the names *Hyberni* and *Scoti* were as yet synonymous, and given to the same people inhabitants of *Ireland* and *Britain*; and that the name *Hyberni* was made use of in those early times to express, not only the inhabitants of *Ireland*, but those also of *Britain* that had their origin from *Ireland*, that spoke the same language, and were as yet look'd upon as the same people, though separated by their habitations, in the same manner as the term *Saxones* was applied, both to the inhabitants of *Britain* and to those of *Germany* from whom they had their origin. And for a proof of the promiscuous usage of the names *Hyberni* and *Scoti*, these very same people, who are here (*cap.* 14) called *Hyberni*, are called by the same *Bede*, *Scoti*, both at their setting out upon this expedition (*cap.* 12.) and in his chronicle. And as to the application of the name *Hyberni*, or *Irish*, to the *Scots* in *Britain*, besides other examples, we find as far down as the fourteenth age

(a) *Gild.* c. 19. A. X. 20. 21. 22. 23. 24. 25. 26. 27. 28. 29. 30. 31. 32. 33. 34. 35. 36. 37. 38. 39. 40. 41. 42. 43. 44. 45. 46. 47. 48. 49. 50. 51. 52. 53. 54. 55. 56. 57. 58. 59. 60. 61. 62. 63. 64. 65. 66. 67. 68. 69. 70. 71. 72. 73. 74. 75. 76. 77. 78. 79. 80. 81. 82. 83. 84. 85. 86. 87. 88. 89. 90. 91. 92. 93. 94. 95. 96. 97. 98. 99. 100.

(b) *Bed. lib.* 1. c. 14. U

the name of *Irischery* (a) given to the *Highlanders* of *Scotland*, because of their origin from *Ireland*, and of the *Irish* language that they still continue to speak.

IN the second place we have already observed, that the *Scots*, who were settled in *Britain*, were, in their expeditions against the old *Britains*, frequently assisted by auxiliaries or adventurers that came over from *Ireland*, both in order to strengthen the forces of the *Scots* in *Britain*, and many of them no doubt in hopes of prey and carrying off captives, which, when the expeditions were over, some of them carried along with them back to *Ireland*, whilst others remained to fortify and augment the colony of the *Scots* in *Britain*; and that upon any great defeat, as it happened in the expedition of the general *Theodosius*, many of them used to retire to the extremities of the north-western coasts or neighbouring islands of *Britain*, or even to *Ireland*. Wherefore, to answer now the question of these learned writers, where should the home of the *Hyberni* or *Scoti* be but in *Ireland*? If they were of the *Scots* already settled in *Britain*, they passed home to their own dwellings in and about *Argyle*, and the north-western coasts of *Britain*. But if they were only adventurers, that came over either as auxiliaries, or to prey upon or carry off captives from the *Britains*, most of

(a) Archdeacon Barber in the life of K. Robert the Bruce.

them went home again to *Ireland*, others perhaps remained with their friends in the north of *Britain*, ready to march with them upon a new expedition, as they should find opportunity (a). *Non post multum temporis reversuri.*

BUT I wonder, that these learned men reflect not upon the little appearance there seems to be, of armies of men coming so often from (b) *Ireland* over so dangerous a sea, and the rapid tides that run between *Ireland* and *Britain*; and that upon their *corrourhs*, *curuce*, as *Gildas* calls them: and what a number of those *corrourhs* was requisite to transport armies of men, if they were such as the *corrourhs* made use of as yet in some places of *Scotland*, which can contain conveniently but two men at once? One would think it more natural to understand by the sea, which they had to pass, the *Friths* of *Clyde* or *Forth*, in some places not very broad, and where the *corrourhs* would run no great risk, than a rapid part of the ocean; and that the quality of the vessels, *curuce*, in which *Gildas* tells us they us'd to transport their troops, would rather serve for a new proof, that these *Scoti* or *Hyberni*, that so often infested the *Britains*, were island inhabitants of *Britain*, who were separated from the *Britains* only by the *Friths*, which they easily pass'd over. And this is farther confirmed

(a) Gild. & Bed. *ibid.*

(b) *Anniversarias predas cogere solebant.* Bed. *ibid.*

by *Gildas* (a) telling us, that the *Scots* came *trans Scitican vallem*, as it was in the former editions, instead of *Scitican*, over the valley which the *Firth* of *Clyde* made betwixt the habitations of the *Scots* and *Britains*; for as it hath been elsewhere (b) observed, *Sciticus* and *Scoticus* are used for the same: but I cannot understand how the passage from *Ireland* to any part of *Britain* can be called *vallis*, a valley; whether it be called *Scitica vallis*, or *Tithica* as *Dr. Galer's* edition hath it.

3°. *Dr. STILLINGFLEET* expatiates upon the injurious names of *impudentes grassatores* and the like, that *Gildas* gives to the *Scots* and *Picts* that ravaged the *Britains*, and draws inferences from them against the *Scots* being settled in *Britain*. But in the first place, I hope, *Gildas* calling the *Scots* invaders or pillagers of the *Britains*, (or if he will, robbers) does not make them outlandish, since there are inland as well as outlandish plunderers or pillagers. Whilst *Scotland* and *England* were under two distinct sovereigns, every body knows what havoc they used to make reciprocally upon the one and the other kingdom: and carry home prey and captives with them, tho' they were both inland inhabitants of the same island; and as to the injurious names that *Gildas* gives to the *Scots*, I would be very sorry to imitate *Dr. Stillingfleet*, in drawing

(a) *Gild.* c. 15.

(b) *Supra*, p 536. &c.

consequences from the names that the same *Gildas* gives to the *Saxons*, nor will I be so uncivil as even to translate (a) *Gildas*'s words, where, speaking of the first recruit that was sent to the *Saxons* into *Britain*, he thus expresses himself, *Supra dicta genitrix* (meaning the country of the first *Saxons* or *English*) *primo comperiens agmini fuisse prosperatum, item mittit satellitum, canumque prolixiorem catastam, quæ ratibus advecta, adunatur cum manipularibus spuris.* It ought to be consider'd here, that *Gildas* beholding his country, so flourishing of old, put by the *Saxons* to fire and sword; and the old *Britains* his countrymen either massacred, or reduced for refuge to fly into corners of the island, or into foreign countries, was equally exasperated against the *Saxons*, as being the immediate authors of these calamities, and against the *Scots* and *Picts*, whose invasions had obliged the *Britains* to call in the *Saxons*. And therefore he never speaks of the one or the other, but in the bitterest terms that the anguish of his heart could suggest. An impartial writer, to judge aright, ought to have regard as well to the circumstances, passions, and temper of an author, whom he quotes, as to the letter of his expressions; and that is all I shall say.

THIS being premised to return to the chronological account of the *Scots* in *Britain*, I shall on-

(a) *Gild. c. 23.*

ly touch the last invasions of the *Scots* and *Picts*, and refer the reader to *Gildas*, and *Bede's* narrations, for a more full account of them.

A. D. 422. the *Britains*, who had shaken off their dependence on the empire, *A. D.* 409. finding by experience they were not able to defend their country against the *Scots* and the *Picts* (a), after having groaned some years under the oppression of these enemies, were forced to make new application to the *Romans*, who sent over to them forces, which overcame the *Scots* and *Picts*, and caused the northern wall between the *Friths* to be repaired, and left the *Britains* to do for themselves.

A. D. 426. (b) the *Scots* and *Picts* leaving the wall, broke in over the *Friths* upon the *Britains*, which obliged them to have recourse again to the *Romans*; who sent over new forces, who, after repulsing the enemies, caused the *Northumberland* wall to be repaired, and took leave of the *Britains* for the last time. Upon which the *Picts* took possession of all the extremities of the *Roman* part of the island, that is, of all the territories that composed the province of *Valentia*; and no doubt the *Scots* also made use of this opportunity to enlarge their bounds in the north of the island; and both the *Picts* and *Scots* joined to attack the *Northumbrian* wall: and thus these northern enemies continued to pillage and op-

(a) *Gild.* cap. 12. *Bed.* lib. 1. c. 12.

(b) *Gildas* & *Bed.* *ibid.*

press the *Britains*; till they, after seeking in vain new succours from the *Romans*, called in at last the *Saxons* to their aid, who soon after turn'd their arms against them; pillaged the country, and took possession of it, and forced the *Britains*, some of them to retire to corners of the island, others to abandon it.

By this short account of the *Scots* in *Britain* in the earliest times, it appears at least very probable, that from their first coming in under *Eocha Riada* in the third age, they still remained inhabitants of *Britain*, and made a considerable figure during the fourth and fifth ages. And tho' in their expeditions against the *Romans* or provincials, they generally march'd in conjunction with the *Picts*, and had oft-times their own forces augmented by auxiliaries and new recruits of the *Scots* from *Ireland*; 'tis no ways likely, that they could have subsisted all this time without some kind of government of their own in *Britain*, nor could that subsist without leaders or chiefs, one or more, both for uniting them when at home, and leading and conducting them in their expeditions; and since they came from *Ireland* where there were many lesser kings, I do not see why these leaders or chiefs of the *Scots* in *Britain*, might not have been called kings as well as some of those of *Ireland* to whom that title is given, or even as some of those of *England* during the heptarchy, or those of the *Britons* or *Welsh* in *Wales*, or in the west of *Scotland*. So

that the expression we will find in the latin chronicle (a) in metre; that the Scots in Britain, till the time of Fergus the son of Ere, lived without a king, cannot reasonably be taken in the rigour of the letter, as if absolutely the Scots in Britain had not such lesser kings, as there were many in Ireland; but that his meaning is, that the possessions of the Scots in Britain were not before Fergus son of Ere, united into one state, and had not a formed government; in a word, that the Scots before the time of Fergus son of Ere, had no sovereign king over all the Scottish inhabitants of Britain, such as Fergus son of Ere and his successors were.

FOR it was this Fergus, as we shall presently shew, who united all the Scottish inhabitants of the western parts and isle of Britain, together with the new colonies of Scots, that he brought along with him from Ireland, into one body of people, who extended their bounds in Britain, who freed them from all dependence on the Picts and on the Scots in Ireland, who erected their possessions in Britain into a sovereignty or independent monarchy, polished them by laws, and settled order and subordination among them; and first took upon himself the sovereign authority, and (as Fordun the most ancient of our historians, speaking of his first king Fergus, expresses it) Fergus made himself the first king over the Scots, or as Winton, (a) Append. p. 60. who

who never saw *Fordun's* history, expresses it in the language of his time.

He pat was callit Fergus-more (a)

In ye (b) thryd buke 3c hard befor

Was Fergus Erchz son, pat thre yhere

Maid him beyond the Drwm to Strie

Oure all the hychtis ever ilkane

As pai ly fra Drumalbane (c)

Tyll Stanemore (d) and Incheval

Kyng he maid hym (e) oure thaim all.

ART II. Of the first king of the Scots in Britain.

ALL the *Scotish* historians, and all others that mention our kings, do generally agree, that the name of the first king of *Scots* in *Britain* was *Fergus*. But they are divided in this, whether it was *Fergus* son of *Ferchard*, called *Fergus* the first, or *Fergus* son of *Erc*, called *Fergus* the second; who, according to the most ancient genealogy of our kings, lived about thirty two generations after the first *Fergus*. All the *Scotish* historians from *Fordun* downwards, or since his chronicle was published about *A. D.* 1447. have followed his opi-

(a) Winton. Chron. book IV. chap. VIII. Biblioth. Reg. Lond.

(b) Wint. book III. chap. IX.

(c) In marg. MS. *Drum Albane, the back of Albanie.*

(d) In the register of St. Andrew's (whence this was taken) there is *Sluab, muere or more.*

(e) Himself.

nion,

nion, and own *Fergus* son of *Ferchard* for the first king of the *Scots*, and that he began his reign three hundred and thirty years before the incarnation; whereas they place the reign of *Fergus* son of *Erc*, or *Fergus* the second, in the beginning of the fifth century of christianity, as *Fordun* does.

BUT besides that, this question is already in a great measure decided against *Fordun* and his followers opinion, by all that hath been brought to prove, that the *Scots* were not settled even in *Ireland*, much less in *Britain*, till after the time of the incarnation, and so could have no king of their nation before that time, in either of these countries: besides this, I say, *Fordun* himself, the most ancient of our writers that calls *Fergus* son of *Ferchard* first king of the *Scots*, wrote near one hundred years after the time, that 'tis said, that the monuments and records of our history were destroyed or carried off by king *Edward I.* and he brings no document or proof from any credible authority to support his opinion, as we shall see elsewhere.

WHEREAS all the remains, without exception, which we have of our ancient histories or records, written, extracted or abridged from them, whilst they were yet subsisting, before the year 1291. all these remains, I say, far from authorizing *Fordun's* new scheme, do all unanimously contradict it and agree, that *Fergus* son of *Erc* was the first king of the

the Scots in Britain. I have already (a) given an account of these monuments or remains of our ancient history, and they are all I ever met with concerning our ancient kings written before the year 1291. and each of them, that gives any account of the beginning of the *Scottish* monarchy in *Albany*, places *Fergus* son of *Ere* the first king, and that in plain terms; so as there needs no more but to set down their words without any commentary.

I SHALL not here alledge for a proof of *Fergus* son of *Ere*, his being reckoned, in the twelfth age, the first sovereign king of the Scots in *Albany*, the testimony so plain of the first piece set down in the appendix to this essay, entituled, *De situ Albanie*, which was formerly quoted by *Camden*, (and upon his authority by other *English* and *Irish* writers) because, as I have already observed (b), it appears to me, that the author of it was no *Scotsman*; but that it is probably a production of *Giraldus Cambrensis*. The reader, if he pleases, may see it in the appendix (c), beginning by these words, *Fergus filius Eric, ipse fuit primus qui de semine Gbonare suscepit regnum Albanie, &c.* This piece wants no commentary, being clear upon the point, whether *Girald* had this with the rest of his informations

(a) Supra, p. 598. &c.

(b) Supra, p. 681.

(c) Appendix, num. I.

from *Andrew* bishop of *Carenes*, he does not tell us. However, leaving this to the reader's judgment, I come to the testimony of *Scotish* writers.

I. THE first testimony that I shall bring, is from that ancient abstract of our chronicles, intitled, *Chronica regum Scottorum*, num. 4. in the appendix and already (a) describ'd. It begins thus, *Fergus filius Eric fuit primus qui de semine Chonare suscepit regnum Albanie, id est, a monte Drum Albain usque ad mare Hybernæ, & ad Inchegall. Ille regnavit tribus annis. Domangart filius ejus quinque annis. Congal filius Domangart, &c.* and so continues to give the series of our kings, with the years of their reigns, down to king *William* in the twelfth age, when it was abstracted from our old chronicles, whilst they were yet in being. This abstract ends in the MS. with king *William's* genealogy up to *Noah*, as it was then received. According to this genealogy, *Fergus-mor-mac-Erb* first of our kings, was in the thirteenth degree from *Conare* son to *Mogoloma*. The son of this *Conare* was *Eocha Riada*, who is thought to be the *Reuda*, mentioned by *Bede*, the leader of the first *Scotish* colony to *Britain*.

II. THE second testimony is from a very authentick record, an ancient register or chartulary of the

(a) Supra, p. 605.

church of *St. Andrew's*, written in the beginning of the reign of king *Alexander III.* about the year 1251. whilst our ancient chronicles were yet to be seen. In this register, there is a series or chronological (a) catalogue of the kings of *Scots*, down till the reign of *Alexander III.* whereof I have given an account already (b). And this series, inserted in that church register, was preserved from the general disaster which fell out forty years afterwards, as were generally all other church registers, records and libraries.

Now this series of our kings contains, in as express terms as the former testimonies, an account that *Fergus* son of *Erc* or *Erch* was the first king of the *Scots* in *Britain*; for it begins thus, 1. *Fergus filius Erch primus in Scotia regnavit tribus annis ultra Drxmalbain usque Sluagmuner & usque ad Incbegall*; 2. *Douengbart filius Fergus quinque annis regnavit*; 3. *Congall filius Douengbart*, &c. And thus continues down the series of the kings of the *Scots*, till *Alpin* son of *Eocha* the twenty third king. After him he sets down the catalogue of the *Pictish* kings, to the number of sixty. And then follows out that of the kings of *Scotland*, from *Keneth* son of *Alpin*, down till king *Alexander III.* and gives a short

(a) In append. n. 5.

(b) Supra, p. 606.

account of each king, such as we find in other ancient short chronicles of these times.

III. A third proof of *Fergus* son of *Erch*, his being the first king of the *Scots* in *Britain*, is furnish'd us by *James Gray* publick notary and secretary to the Archbishops of *St. Andrew's*, *William Schevez*, and prince *James* duke of *Ross*, brother to king *James IV*, in the copy he hath given us in his collections (mention'd (a) elsewhere) of the series and succession of our kings, transcrib'd, as we remarked already, from some chronicle or record written during the reign of king *William*, and which is, (allowing difference in the expressions of no moment, and faults of copyists) as to the substance, entirely conformable to the forsaide extract of the register of *St. Andrew's*. This transcript begins thus, *Fergus filius Herch primus regnavit in Scotia tribus annis ultra Druthin Alban usque Sluagbmorre & usque Inchgall. Dovenghard filius Fergus 5 annis regnavit. Congal filius Dovengard, &c.* in the very terms of the *St. Andrew's* register, except a wrong reading or transcribing the name *Drumalban*. So the agreement of this transcript of *James Gray*, with the extract of the register, mutually corroborates one another, and, being written at so different times, the one about the middle of the thirteenth age, the other towards the end of the fifteenth, their agreement proves, that they both

(a) *Supra*, pag. 627.

had

had their accounts from the same source. But 'tis observable in *James Gray's* account of the succession of our kings, that having perused *Fordun's* history, and being otherwise prevened by the common notions that the *Scots* had in his days of *Fergus* the son of *Ferchard*, his being the first king and founder of the monarchy; accordingly, before he sets down the account of our kings, he prefixes a *Notandum* of his own conformable to the then common notion of the antiquity of the monarchy in the *Scotish* line. *Notandum*, says he, *quod regnum Scotie incepit ante incarnationem domin. 443. annis*: yet being in a publick station, and accustomed to draw up acts, or transcribe them faithfully, such as he found them, he caused to be transcribed, without alteration, this account of the succession of our kings, such as he found it in ancient records, however opposite it was to his own, and to the common opinion of the *Scots* in those days, and ever since *Fordun's* chronicle had been published.

IV. IT will no doubt appear a strange paradox to bring the fourth testimony for *Fergus* son of *Erc*, his being the first king of the *Scots* in *Britain*, from *John Fordun*. Since the whole design of the second book of his chronicles, is to give us the history of *Fergus* son of *Ferchard*, as first king of the *Scots*, and of forty-five other kings of *Scots* that succeeded him before *Fergus* son of *Erc*. But such is the force of truth, on minds that are not wholly corrupted by a formed design to invent and impose,

impose, but only byassed by the popular opinions and prejudices of the times and circumstances in which they live (which we shall see elsewhere was *Fordun's* case) that they will not absolutely smother all ancient testimonies, tho' opposite to the opinions they are embarked in; but rather, in quoting them, endeavour to reconcile their own opinions with them. *John Fordun*, in his searches for memorials of our history, had no doubt seen these ancient abstracts of our ancient chronicles I have quoted above, or others equivalent, and read in them the words I have set down, (a) viz. that *Fergus* son of *Erc* was the first king of the *Scotish* race; that he reigned from *Drum Albayn* to *Inchgall*, and that he reigned only three years, which are the words of the extracts above mentioned: but if they be let pass without a commentary, and be taken in their literal meaning, they are enough to subvert the whole fabrick of *Fordun's* forty-five kings before *Fergus* son of *Erc*.

WHEREFORE, to obviate that inconveniency, *Fordun* supposes a subversion of the *Scotish* monarchy in the fourth age, upon the grounds we shall elsewhere examine, and by consequence a restoration of the monarchy by *Fergus* son of *Erc*, which gives *Fordun* a kind of ground to call this *Fergus* first king of the *Scots*, viz. after their restoration: and adds, that towards the latter end of his reign, which he supposes lasted sixteen years; he gained some lands (he owns he knows not how)

(a) *Fordun* lib. 3. c. 2. pag. 173. edir. Hicam.

beyond *Drumalbain*, and was the first king of the *Scotish* race, that reigned three years in the *Pictish* land, from the hills to the *Scotish* sea. But all this varnish will not cover the conformity of his expression, with those of the extracts from our old chronicles which I have related, nor hinder them, if taken alone, from having the same meaning among all unprejudiced persons. The words are these [*Fergus filius Erch*] *tribus* [ultimis] *annis ultra Drumalbain, hoc est, ultra dorsum Albanie primus regum Scotici generis* [in terra Pictorum] *a montibus ad mare* [Scoticum] *regnabit*. What is here inclosed in crotchets, are *Fordun's* interpolations of our old chronicles, to adapt them to his system.

BUT a manifold proof of *Fergus* son of *Erc*, his having been the first king of the *Scots* in *Britain*, is drawn from the short chronicle of the *Scots* in latin *rhythm*, or verses, inserted at the end of most of the copies of the *Scotichronicon*; as an ancient abridgment of our history, printed in the appendix num 3. I have given an account (a) of it already, to which I refer the reader. The first part of this short chronicle ends with the death of king *William*, and with the eighth chapter, and was written about the time of king *Alexander II* or *III*, as appears by the beginning of the ninth chapter.

(a) *Supra*, p. 6c8.

V. THE first proof drawn from this chronicle of *Fergus* son of *Erc*, his being counted the first king of *Scots*, is taken from the fifth chapter; where the author supposing, according to a tradition already received in those days, that the *Scots* came to *Britain* before the incarnation, informs us, that they lived in *Argyle* a very long time according to the law of nature (so he expresses it) but without any king, till one, called *Fergus*, brought over from *Ireland* the famous stone to *Argyle*, and became the first king of the *Scots*.

(a) *In tamen Ergadia vixit per tempora multa
Hægens [Scottorum] sub lege naturæ, sed sine rege,
Donec ad Ergadium tulit audax nomine quidam
Fergusius lapidem, de quo fit mentio pridem :
Hic primus rexit Scotos, lapidem quia vexit :
Quem Scoti lapidem sanxerunt ponere sedem
Regibus inde suis tantum, sed non alienis.*

THAT this *Fergus* was the son of *Erc*, the whole series of this chronicle, continued in the next and following chapters, sufficiently demonstrates; for he begins the next chapter immediately following the verses above set down, by telling us, that this *Fergus* was the first that reign'd in *Argyle*, and that he reigned three years, that he was succeeded by *Donegard* who reign'd five, and he by *Congall*, &c. all which characters, as they agree to this *Fergus* son of *Erc* and to no other; so they

(a) Chron. Rythm. cap. 5.

X x 2

per-

perfectly agree with the three former catalogues of our kings in every thing, in which they differ from *Fordun* and his followers new catalogue of our kings immediate successors to *Fergus* son of *Erc*. These are the words of this short chronicle, cap. 6.

Primus in Ergadia Fergus rexit tribus annis

Post Donegard quinis, Congal quater octo bis, &c.

VI. A second proof is drawn from what the author of this chronicle tells us, cap. 6. that the *Scots* reigned in *Britain* together with the *Picts* 332, or 312 years three months: for the verses following will bear either of those explications.

[*Scoti*] *Hi cum prædictis regnarunt tempore Pictis*

Quod trecentenos quater octoque continet annos,

His annis & tres debetis jungere menses. cap. 6.

Now its certain that by the middle of the ninth age, the *Picts* ceased to make a distinct people and kingdom by their union and subjection to the *Scots*; so counting backward from this union, the number of years here assigned, will not reach back farther than the time of *Fergus* son of *Erc*, in the fifth or sixth age, and comes many ages short of *Fergus* I. who is supposed to have lived 330 years before the coming of *Christ*, that is, near twelve hundred years before the union of the *Scots* and *Picts*.

VII. 3° THIS short chronicle assures us, that king *Alexander III.* was the fifty first king of the Scots.

ALEXANDER III.

(a) *Qui quinquagenus regum fuit ordine primus.*

And this supposes clearly, that *Fergus* son of *Erc* was the first king, there being just fifty-one kings in this author's account, as well as in that of the above-mentioned *chronica regum Scotorum*, and in that of the register of St. *Andrew's*, from *Fergus* son of *Erc*, down to king *Alexander III.* This same author calls afterwards, c. 10. king *John Balliol.* the fifty-second king.

Before I leave this *Chron. Rythm.* or short chronicle in latin verses, 'tis of importance, towards preventing any mistake by alterations in it, to observe, that in several copies of the *Scotichronicon*, at the end of which, this *Chron. Rythmicum* is to be found, there is, besides other additions, an interpolation at the end of the seventh chapter, containing some latin verses for the most part extracted out of different places of *Fordun's* chronicle, and put together in this interpolation without any suit or coherence; and the whole so oddly and unskilfully inserted in the *Chronicon Rythmicum*, that tho' we had not a fair and genuine ancient copy of it, without any interpolation in the MS. *Scotichronicon* in Vellum, of the *Scotish* college at *Paris*; the interpolation would visibly appear to any that reads the whole piece with attention to the sense and coherence.

(*) Cap. 9.

X x 3

FOR

FOR the sixth chapter of this *Chron. Rythm.* to which is subjoin'd this interpolation, finishes the short account of the succession of our first kings, by telling us, that *Kenneth* son of *Alpin*, reign'd seven years over the *Scots*, before he subdued the *Picts*; and then, after adding the number of years that the *Pictish* and *Scottish* kings reign'd together in *Albany*, which ends this sixth chapter, the seventh chapter, which immediately follows, continues on naturally to tell us, how long this king *Kenneth* reign'd after he overcame the *Picts*; and so continues down the succession of our kings where the sixth chapter left off from this king *Kenneth*, till *Malcolm Keanmor's* children descended; partly of the *Scottish*, partly of the *Saxon* blood, by queen *Margaret* their mother.

Now 'tis betwixt the sixth and this seventh chapter, which follow so naturally one another, that the unskillful interpolator has placed his addition, taking 1°. out of *cap. 35. lib. 2. of Fordun*, the verses *Christi transfactis tribus annis atque ducentis, &c.* giving account of the first planting of christianity in *Scotland*. 2°. To these he hath added new verses of his own fabrick, containing the coming in of *S. Palladius*, according to *Fordun's* account of it. 3°. He joins to those, without any coherence, *Fordun's* verses (*lib. 2. cap. 12.*) *Albion in terris rex primus germine Scotus, &c.* describing *Fergus* son of *Ferchard* as first king of the *Scots*: and this in plain contradiction to the *Chron. Rythm.* to which

which he hath tack'd them: whether with a design to elude, or embroil the distinct account and manifold testimonies it contains of *Fergus* son of *Ercb*, his being the first king of the *Scots*, I leave to others to judge.

BUT to return now from this digression: these are all the monuments written before the year 1291, that give any account of the succession or series of the kings of the *Scots*, that hitherto I have had occasion to meet with. And it is not improper to take notice, that they are almost all of them written in different places, by different authors, and on different occasions, without communication; and yet all agree together exactly in the same names, order, and number of kings; and in placing *Fergus* son of *Erc* as the first of them; and equally differ from *Fordun* and his followers.

PERHAPS this essay may give occasion to the curious and learned of our country or elsewhere, to discover and remark other ancient pieces of the same tenor. But I dare confidently affirm beforehand, that in no genuine writer before the year 1291; and our contests with king *Edward* I. about the year 1306, will be found any certain account of the first forty kings; or of any sovereign kings at all of the *Scots* in *Britain* before *Fergus* the son of *Erc*. And now I refer it to the judgment of any impartial man, whether the authority of the monuments I have here made use of, however short

and lame they may appear, all written by authors who had before them our genuine ancient writers as yet in being, and who extracted with simplicity from them a short account of the beginning of the *Scotish* monarchy and succession of the kings; whether, I say, authors, so well inform'd and so void in all appearance of prejudice and design, their testimony be not preferable to the contradictory accounts given of the monarchy, and of our ancient kings by posterior authors, deprived of the help of our genuine ancient chronicles, and byass'd by so many prejudices.

VIII. To confirm what the monuments, I have already cited, unanimously affirm of *Fergus* son of *Erc*, his being the first king of the *Scots* in *Albany*, I shall as yet bring for an eighth testimony, the authority of one author, who, though he lived after *Fordun* or about his time, yet he never saw his work, which was not as yet publish'd, or, at least, generally known till about *A. D.* 1447, or 1448. probably after this author's death. This is *Andrew Winton* prior of *Lockleven*, who wrote his chronicle (of which (a) we have already given an account) towards the end of the reign of king *Robert III.*, or during the captivity of king *James I.* This author, tho' he believed according to the tradition received long before his time, that the *Scots* were settled in *Britain* before the incar-

(a) *Supra*, p. 622.

nation, and writing about one hundred years after the opinion (first vented during our debates with king *Edward I.* about the independency) of the *Scots* having had ancient kings in *Britain*, even before the incarnation, had, by length of time, and as being honourable to the nation, spread itself and gained credit among the generality; tho' *Winton*, I say, writing in that juncture, was much inclined to believe the *Scots* had kings before the incarnation; 1°. yet not only when he sets down (a) the old genealogy of the *Scotish* kings, from *Simon-Breac* downwards, he reckons, among the rest of the names of the ancestors of our kings, that of *Fergus* son to *Ferchar* or *Feraret* in the genealogical line, without taking any the least particular notice of him, as he doth of the famous men among them; such as *Simon-Breac*, and *Fergus* son of *Erc*, and without the least insinuation of this *Fergus* son of *Ferchar*, his ever having been the first king or a king of the *Scots* at all, no more than any of the rest. But 2°. when he comes down with the genealogical line to *Fergus* son of *Erc*, he (b) calls him expressly the first king of the *Scots* in *Britain*, and looked upon that as so constant and certain an historical truth, that he repeats it no less than three times, in three or four different places of his chronicle.

(a) *Winton's Chronicle* in Biblioth. Cotton. Nero D. XI lib. 3. fol. 30.

(b) *Winton* *ibid*, lib. 3. fol. 30. lib. 4 fol 37, 38, 43.

WHAT is remarkable, and shews how much it was fixed in the minds of the *Scots* as yet in *Winton's* time, that *Fergus* son of *Erc* was the first king, is, that *Winton* himself overswayed by the prevailing new opinion of the *Scots* having had kings three or four hundred years before the birth of *Christ*, or rather before the *Picts*, who he supposeth began to reign two hundred years before the incarnation, on the one hand; and on the other hand, being assured that the first king of the *Scots* was *Fergus* son of *Erc*, and that there were but ten generations (a) betwixt this *Fergus* and *Kenneth Mac Alpin*, who lived above eight hundred years after the birth of *Christ*; after a fruitless effort in two places in his chronicle to reconcile this contradiction; at last finding it impossible to make ten or eleven generations in those times fill up twelve hundred years, he chooseth rather to bring down the beginning of the *Scottish* monarchy to more modern times, and to grant that the *Picts* were already settled, and their monarchy subsisting in *Britain* when the *Scots* came into it, than to doubt of *Fergus* son of *Erc*, his being their first king. This shews how certain this was as yet even in *Winton's* time, and that he had never seen *Fordun's* chronicle; otherwise he could not have failed to mention at least the distinction of two

(a) *Winton.* lib. 5. fol. 7. lib. 4. fol. 43.

Vide Appendix, No. 7.

Fergus's I. and II. which, if it had been grounded, would have solved all his difficulties.

THUS *Winton*, in the first draughts or editions of his chronicles, such as it is in all the MSS. of it that I have seen in *Scotland* or *England*, excepting one, the most valuable of all, which belongs to the king's library at *London*, whercof I have already (a) given an account, it contains the last review made by himself of his chronicle, with some considerable additions and corrections. In this not only he still persists to make *Fergus* son of *Erch* first king of the *Scots*, but what the ordinary copies of his chronicles do not contain, he informs us, no doubt from the records of *St. Andrew's*, to which he belong'd, and conformably to the accounts of all the above-mentioned writers that had been published till his time; that (b) *Fergus son of Erch first king of the Scots, reigned three years from Drumalban to Inchgall; Douengart his son five years, to whom succeeded his son Congal, &c.* and continues on a chronological series of our kings, with their genealogy and years of their reigns, till *Eocha-rinneval* call'd by our moderns, after *Fordun*, *Eugen. V.*

AND now we have seen by the agreeing testimonies of all our ancient writers, without exception,

(a) *Supra*, pag. 624.

(b) *Append. n. vii.*

not only of those who wrote before the year 1291; but of all of them that we have remaining before the publication of *Fordun's* history, under the reign of king *James II*, that *Fergus* son of *Erch* was still believed to have been the first king of the *Scots*, and that, till the history of *Fordun* was publish'd, we have not one word, in any writer extant, of *Fergus* the son of *Ferchard* his being the first king, or a king at all of the *Scots*, nor in the old genealogy of our kings any particular notice taken of his name, except by *Fordun*, no more than of so many other names in that genealogy.

IT is farther worth observing, that the tradition of the *Scotish* monarchy's beginning by one *Erc*, or the son of *Erc*, was so rooted in the minds of the *Scots*, that even in their instructions to their commissioners at *Rome* (*A. D* 1300) during the debate with king *Edward* before the *Pope* (where we find the first notions of kings of *Scots* before the incarnation) they visibly point at one *Erc* as the founder of their monarchy. 1°. By deriving from *Erc* and *Gathey* the name of their first settlement in *Britain*; and 2°. by their naming no other king of *Scots* but *Erc*, whom they bring in both the first king of the *Scots* in *Britain*, in the highest antiquity, and again as a king of the *Scots* about the end of the fourth, or beginning of the fifth age, where our moderns place the

restoration of monarchy. And thus far as to the authorities of *Scotish* writers before *Fordun*, who all agree that *Fergus* son of *Erc* was the first king of *Scots*.

IT would have perhaps appeared invidious, to have brought the testimonies of *English* or *Irish* writers to prove this delicate point; for which reason also I have not alledged the testimony, so clear for this purpose, contained in the description (a) of *Albany*, and quoted by *Camden* and others, because I suppose *Giraldus Cambrensis* was author of that description; and therefore, having sufficient proofs from the *Scotish* ancient writers, I have designedly abstained from quoting the others, and shall refer my reader, if he desires farther information and other proofs, to archbishop *Usher's Antiquitates Britanniae* (a), *Flaberty's Ogygia* (c), &c. and others of lesser note among the *Irish*, and of the *English* to *Camden's Scotia*, to the history of church-government of *Britain*, &c. by *Dr. Loyd* bishop of *St. Asaph*, and *Dr. Stiillingfleet's* antiquities of *British* churches; in all which they will find this argument treated most part from testimonies drawn from *Irish* writers, which, tho' I have not made use of in examining this question, yet I am perswaded they may be very serviceable to the *Scotish* history.

(a) Appendix, num. 1.

(b) *Usher. Antiq. Brit.* p. 319, 320. &c.

(c) *Ogygia*, p. 465. &c.

But

BUT in order to that, it ought to be observed, 1°. that a great difference is to be made betwixt the histories or annals of *Ireland*, containing accounts of transactions passed since king *Leogaire* and *St. Patrick's* time, and those pretended old histories of the *Irish*, which, they gave out, were written by their *seanachies* before the times of christianity, or even before they received the gospel with the use of letters. As to these last, we have endeavoured to shew elsewhere (a) at length, that these pretended ancient histories being built upon the dubious foundation of the *Bards* traditions, there's no weight to be laid upon them: whereas the first, that is, their historical accounts written since they received christianity, deserves much more credit.

2°. A GREAT difference ought also to be made among the *Irish* writers, even since they had the use of letters, betwixt those of their histories or annals that contain the accounts of the succession of kings, bishops and other such publick transactions within or without that kingdom; such as *Tigernac's* annals, the *Ulster* annals, the *Synchronism's* of *Flann*, where they relate matters that happen'd since king *Leogair's* time on the one hand, and on the other, the uncertain rapsodies of genealogies, some of the legends of saints, written

(a) Supra, Book II. Sect. 1. chap. 1. per totum.

by anonymous obscure, or credulous authors, especially in the *Irish* tongue. I do not see why the first, to wit, their more received histories and annals, when fairly publish'd, accompanied with good proofs of the authentickness of their originals, and an account where they are preserved; I do not see, I say, why these ought not to be allowed the same authority as writers of other nations, according to the degree of good sense, or fidelity of the authors, and the nearness of their time to the transactions they relate.

3°. It hath been already (a) observed, that the *Irish* interest, for a proof of their own pretended remote antiquities, would have inclined them, if they had found it well grounded, rather to have raised to a greater height the antiquity of the *Scotish* settlement in *Britain*, than to have abridged it, especially since the *Scots* claimed only an antiquity of about one thousand years of later date, than what the *Irish* pretend to.

BESIDES that in the former times, when the best monuments of the *Irish* history were penned, we find a constant amicable concord and intercourse of friendly correspondence and amity betwixt the *Scots* of *Britain* and the *Irish*, both in ecclesiastical and civil affairs, which as we see by

(a) Supra, p. 182. 183.

(a) acts

(a) acts of our parliament, *A. D.* 1427. In king *James I*'s time, was still entertain'd between these two nations, and none of these jealousies and animosities which have chiefly begun within these two last ages, especially among the *Scots* and *Irish* abroad; and since many of both nations were forced to go into foreign countries on the alteration of religion at home; and at soonest, since the *Irish* became subjects to the kings of *England* in the twelfth age. Till these jealousies arose, I do not see why the *Irish* writers of the eleventh age and upwards, might not have fairly related such publick transactions of the *Scots* in *Britain* as their common origin, language and usages could not but make them take interest in, and their frequent intercourse made them acquainted with. Thus I cannot but think the testimonies brought by *Usher* (b) from the annals of *Tigernach*, of *Usher*, and the *Synchronisms*, &c. of use towards the settling the beginning of the reign of *Fergus* son of *Fre*, and fixing it to the year 503, especially since all the most ancient accounts of the *Scots* agree to bring down his reign till about the beginning of the sixth age.

AND in general, tho' it cannot be expected that the *Irish* writers will be as exact, or can be as much depended upon as the *Scots* themselves, in

(a) Black Acts. cap. 71. fol. 11,

(b) *Usher*. Britan. Eccles. Antiq. p. 320.

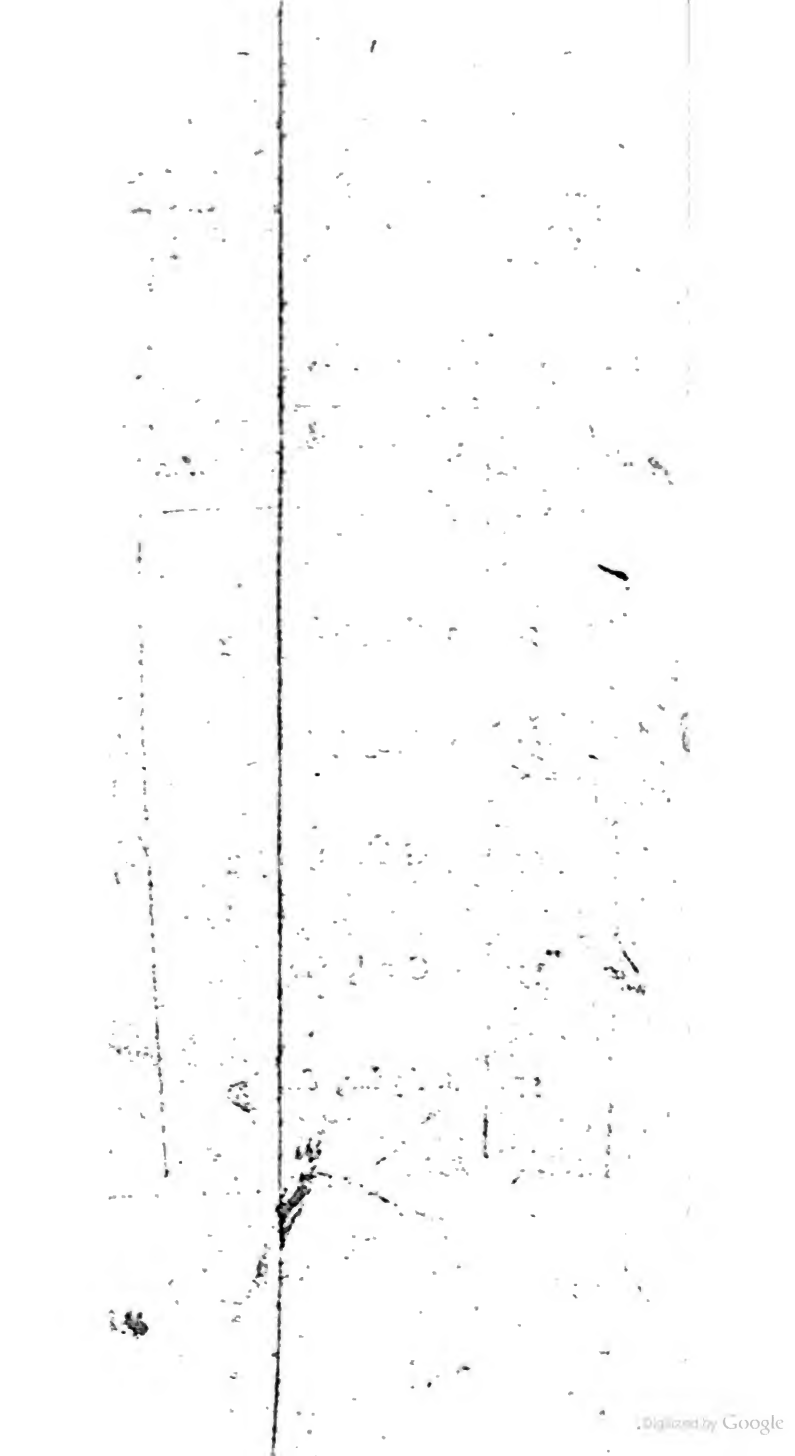
matters relating to *Albany*, when equally ancient; and near the times of the transactions; yet I cannot but here renew again my earnest wishes, that those of the *Irish* writers who treat of transactions in *Albany*, such as *Tigernach*, the *Synchronisms*, the *Ulster* annals, and such like, were faithfully published in a fair and literal translation; if they cannot be printed (as the *English* have done their *Saxon* monuments of history) in the original language, with a literal translation joined to them. And I doubt not but the history of the *Scots* would receive light by their so doing, as the *Irish* would gain credit to their own history, and honour to the authors of such a laudable undertaking: and it was particularly for this reason that I insisted so much on this subject, in the former dissertation.

ART. III. Of the time of the beginning of the reign of Fergus son of Erc, and proper Epoch of the monarchy of the Scots in Britain.

FORDUN hath placed the beginning of this Fergus's reign, and of the restoration, as he calls it, of the *Scottish* kingdom in *Britain* in the year 403. Our other historians, ever since, have generally followed him in that date: only Boece, and some of his followers, in order to give this Fergus time to accompany Alaric at the sacking of Rome in 409, hath placed this restoration some few years later.

BUT this *Epoch* of *Fergus's* reign settled on bare conjecture, as we shall shew elsewhere, is contradicted both by the account that *Fordun* himself, as well as all our ancient and modern writers, give of the genealogy of our kings, and by all the monuments remaining of our ancient annals before *A. D.* 1291. All which suppose or prove plainly, that the beginning of the reign of *Fergus* son of *Erc*, was about one hundred years later than *Fordun* hath placed it.

ACCORDING to the genealogy of our kings, received by *Fordun* and all our other writers, there are but two generations or persons betwixt this *Fergus* and king *Aydan*, his great grandchild; to wit, *Dongard*, who was son to *Fergus*; and *Gauran*, who was son to *Dongard*, and father to king *Aydan*. Now, according to *Fordun's* account, *Fergus* began his reign *A. D.* 403, and died *A. D.* 419; and king *Aydan*, his great grandchild, died *A. D.* 605: so there would be only three generations to take up near two centuries, viz. one hundred and sixty-eight years from the death of king *Fergus*, to that of king *Aydan*; which, in the first place, would be against the common received rule of counting three generations to one hundred years, or of allowing thirty years to each generation: in the second place, it would be absolutely contrary to the experience of all that hath ever happened in *Scotland* since, where there have always been



Genealogical and Chronologi

COL. I.

According to more ancient MS. Ch.

<i>Began to Reign.</i>	<i>Order of SUCCESSION.</i>	<i>Reigned Years.</i>
<i>A.D. 503</i>	1 Fergus, <i>Son of Erc</i>	3
506	2 Dongard, <i>Son of Fergus</i>	5
511	3 Congal, <i>Son of Dongard</i>	24
535	4 Gabhran, <i>Son of Dongard</i>	22
557	5 Conal, <i>Son of Congal</i>	14
571	6 Aydan, <i>Son of Gabhran</i>	34

Series of the Kings of Scots, from Fergus

or Catalogues.

According

Series of Generations.		Began to Reign.	Order of
506	Fergus	A.D. 403	1 Fergus
		419	2 Eugenius
511	Dongard 1	452	3 Dongard
		457	4 Constantine
535		479	5 Congall
557	Gabhrian 2	501	6 Gonran
		535	7 Ethod
571		558	8 Conal
		567	9 Kynath
605	Aydan 3	569	10 Aydan

f Erc, to Aydan Son of Gauran.

O.L. II.

1 Fordun, *and his Followers.*

N.	Reigned Years.	Died.	Series of Generations.
	16	A.D. 419	Fergus
us	34	452	
us	5	457	Dongard 1
ergus	22	479	
gard	22	501	
gard	34	535	Gonran 2
al	23	558	
al	10	567	
ngal	1 3 ^{mths.}	569	
ran	35	605	Aydan 3

In the genealogy of our kings, at least six generations for every two centuries. And from the death of king *Aydan*, A. D. 605, till that of the late king *James VII.* A. D. 1701, there are thirty-six generations, and only one thousand ninety-six years, or about eleven centuries, which is more than three generations for every century: which shews, that there can be no more than one hundred years allowed for the three generations of *Dongard*, *Gauran*, and of *Aydan*; and by consequence, that according to the genealogy owned by all, as well as the fixed *Epoch* of king *Aydan's* death, A. D. 605, and conformable to the experience of all succeeding ages, the beginning of the reign of king *Fergus II.* can be placed no higher than the beginning of the sixth century, or about the year 500 of Christ. But all this will better appear by the genealogical table here inserted (a).

IT would seem that *Fordun*, or those who furnished him with memoirs, had been aware of this difficulty; and therefore, to obviate it, or rather to hinder it from being taken notice of, care is taken to intermix, with the real kings, in the interval betwixt *Fergus* and *Aydan*, the names of three supernumerary kings, besides one *Kinattill*, viz. *Eugenius*, *Constantin*, and *Erbodius*, (of all whom there is not the least mention in the more ancient chronicles or catalogues of our kings) and to each of them are given long reigns, to help

(a) Vide Genealogical Table.

to spin out the two centuries; for which reason there are also several years added to the reigns of some of the real kings: but this cobweb device is easily dissipated, and can be of no use to the purpose, as long as the old genealogy (which could not be so easily altered) remains still the same, even in *Fordun's* account, and in that of all our writers, and king *Aydan*, but in the third degree from king *Fergus*, the intermixing these new kings with the additional number of years of the reigns (which serves only for a blind, that is easily seen through) will in no manner mend the matter, and still the same difficulty remains, of making three generations fill up two centuries, which in all succeeding ages have required at least double that number of generations, as it were easy to prove it by induction, or examples of every two ages or centuries since king *Aydan's*, till the present times.

To render this yet more evident, there needs only to lay aside the seventy-nine years of reign which *Fordun*, or those that helped him with memoirs, thought fit to assign to the three supernumerary kings, (*Eugenius*, *Constantin*, and *Ethodius*) and cut off the twenty-four years, which they have added to lengthen the reigns of *Fergus* and *Gauran* beyond what the ancient catalogues give them. These two numbers of years (seventy-nine and twenty-four) put together, make up above one hundred years: now retrenching them, and reckoning

coming back from king *Aydan's* death, *A. D.* 605, (which is a fixed *Epoch* on which all parties, *Fordun*, as well as others, agree) there will not remain one full century from the death of king *Aydan*, *A. D.* 605, till the beginning of *Fergus's* reign, which therefore must necessarily be placed after the year 500, or the beginning of the sixth century, and about one hundred years after the year 403, to which *Fordun* had fixed it.

IT is no less evident, by all the ancient abstracts of our chronicles, written before the year 1291, that king *Fergus's* reign can be placed no higher than about the year 500; for according to the three ancient catalogues of our kings, to wit, that of the *Chronica Regum Scottorum*, that of the register of St. *Andrew's*, that of the chronicle in *Latin* verse, and those of *Winton* and *Gray*, counting all the years of the king's reigns, from the death of king *Aydan*, *A. D.* 605, up to the beginning of king *Fergus's* reign, it will be found, according to these chronicles or catalogues, that the first of king *Fergus* amounts no higher than to the year 503: for these catalogues or chronicles, (allowing a few faults in the numbers, ordinary to copyists) bear unanimously that, 1°. *Fergus*, son of *Erc*, reigned three years; 2°. *Dongard*, son of *Fergus*, five years; 3°. *Congal*, son of *Dongard*, twenty-four years; 4°. *Gauran*, son of *Dongard*, twenty-two years; 5°. *Conal*, son of *Congal*, fourteen years; 6°. *Aydan*, son of *Gauran*, thirty-four

Y y 3

years

years, and died *A.D.* 605. Now counting up the years of the reigns of these kings, they amount to one hundred and two years, which being deduced from six hundred and two, the fixed *Epoch* of the death of king *Aydan*, here remains just five hundred and three, as another fixed *Epoch* of the beginning of the reign of King *Fergus* son of *Erc*; and by consequence of the monarchy of the *Scots* in *Britain*: and this just answers the calculation of the *Irish* (a) chronology, whose conformity in this, to the most ancient monuments that we have, mutually confirms the other,

(a) Uffer. Britan. Ecclef. Antiq. p. 200.

C H A P. III.

Of the different steps and degrees by which the high antiquities of the Scots grew up by length of time, in the several bands through which they passed, into the plan of history, in which they were afterwards delivered by the modern writers of both nations.

HAVING examined, in the first and second Dissertation of this second section, the grounds of the remote antiquities of the Scots, both in Ireland and Scotland, and endeavoured to fix the true Epoch of their coming in, and of their first settlement in both these kingdoms; to finish the matter, it remains to answer a vulgar objection which may occur against all I have said; the clearing of which will, I hope, give me occasion far from abating any thing of what I have advanced, to add on the contrary a new confirmation to it, and set the whole in a better light.

It may be objected then against what I have said, that if the remote antiquities of Ireland and Scotland had been so groundless in their origin, and the Epoch of the first settlement, and begin-

ning of monarchy of the *Scots* in these countries, not more ancient than I pretend, it seems not possible that the story of the antiquities of both countries, and of the ancient settlement of the *Scots*, could ever have grown up into such a detail of facts, so apparently regular a succession of kings, attended with genealogies, fixed dates, and the other outward appearances of authentick ancient history, nor be delivered with such an air of assurance, as we see that of *Ireland* is by *O Flaberty*, and that of *Scotland* by *Boece* and *Buchanan*.

THO' this objection or difficulty be already in a great measure answered by all that we have said at so much length of these remote antiquities, and shewn that they have no solid grounds, but rather the characters of invention, and of being the work of posterior times; yet to put the whole in greater evidence, I conceive it would not be amiss to endeavour to trace down, as far as the subject will bear, the several steps by which the remote antiquities of both nations have grown up, by degrees and length of time, from the first invention of them, into the detail of circumstantiated facts and form of history, in which their modern writers present them.

BUT as to the remote antiquities of *Ireland*, having in the former dissertation entered, I am afraid, into too great a detail of them for a stranger, though with no other view than to endeavour

deavour to set in a due light the first foundations of the remote antiquities of my own country, I shall enquire no farther into those of *Ireland*, but leave that to the learned, impartial and judicious writers of that kingdom, who, by a perfect knowledge of their ancient language, and by the access they may have to all that remains of the more ancient and valuable of their historical monuments, are alone equal to such a task. I shall therefore content myself to examine here the progress of these remote antiquities among the *Scots* in *Britain*; which, as it will give me an opportunity to discuss some things more fully than I could do in the former part of this dissertation, so I hope that what I am to add here, will remove some popular objections, and serve for a new confirmation to the whole.

To put this subject in a clear light, it may be useful to begin, by laying before the reader the double scheme of the history of the *Scots* before *Fergus* son of *Erch*: 1°. Such as it was in reality, as I have endeavoured to prove, from what remains we have of our ancient writers. 2°. Such as *Boece* and *Buchanan* have published it, which is what I call the remote or high antiquities of the *Scots* in *Britain*.

THE first scheme may be reduced to these four heads; 1°. That the *Scots* were not settled even in *Ireland* till about, or after the times of the incarnation (a).

incarnation (a) 2°. That the *Scots* were not settled in *Britain* till about the third age of christianity (b). 3°. That the *Scots* in *Britain* had no sovereign kings of their own nation before *Fergus* son of *Erch* (c); and that the reign of *Fergus* son of *Erch*, and by consequence the beginning of the *Scotish* monarchy in *Britain*, is to be placed no higher than about the end of the fifth, or beginning of the sixth century (d).

THE second, and opposite scheme, or that of the *Scotish* high antiquities, may be reduced to the following heads; 1°. The *Scotish* monarchy in *Ireland* began by *Simon Breac*, about six hundred years before the incarnation. 2°. The *Scots* came to *Britain* about four hundred years before the incarnation. 3°. The *Scots* in *Britain* had kings before the incarnation, and their monarchy began three hundred and thirty years before the birth of Christ. 4°. *Fergus* the son of *Feredac* or *Fercart*, was the first king of the *Scots* in *Britain*, and had about thirty-eight kings his successors, who reigned during about seven hundred years in the north of *Britain*, till the overthrow of the *Scotish* monarchy about the end of the fourth century; of each of which kings reigns our modern historians give a circumstantial chronological account.

(a) Vide Dissert. I. p. 401, &c. and p. 506, &c.

(b) Supra, p. 638, &c.

(c) Ibid. p. 676.

(d) Ibid. p. 689.

5°. *Fergus* the son of *Erch*, called *Fergus II.* restored the *Scotish* monarchy, and began his reign about the beginning of the fifth century, *A. D.*

403.

To come then to the purpose, and describe the several additions and alterations that were made in different ages, by different hands and occasions, in the first simple scheme of the *Scotish* antiquities before *Fergus* son of *Erch*, till they grew up into that high fabrick whereof *Fordun* laid the plan, which *Boece* finished, and *Buchanan* adorned; I must, in the first place, do that justice to my countrymen to acknowledge, that, except in the last additions, whereof the first authors, I mean of the books under the name of *Veremund*, &c. were, no doubt, guilty of forgery (as I have shewn (a) elsewhere.) All the rest of the additions or alterations were made rather out of ignorance of ancient history, and too great credulity, from the motive of raising the honour and prerogatives of their country beyond others; and rather upon conjectures and grounds that seemed at least probable enough, in the several occasions and circumstances that gave rise to them, than upon any formed design to alter the truth, or to invent: and if we consider, with more attention, the several degrees of growth of these high antiquities, in the hands of our writers of different ages, we will find that

(a) *Supra*, p. 234, &c.

each new addition to the first invention of them (which was wholly due to the bards) was in some manner but a consequence of the former; each new one leaving as it were behind it a demand of a new supplement, till the fabrick of these high antiquities was completed, by degrees, in the order, and with the dimensions in which our modern historians present it.

§. 1. *First step or foundation of the high antiquities of the Scots in Britain: the opinion of the Scots having been settled in Ireland several ages before the incarnation.*

THIS first step, or the first invention, is wholly due to the bards in *Ireland*: the *Scots* being settled there about, or after the times of the incarnation, and becoming the leading men in that island, and being by degrees cemented into one body of people with the ancient inhabitants, the time of their first coming in, wore out of the memory of men in some ages, (and a few ages sufficed, for that in a country where as yet there was no use of letters, nor written records) it is like, that the bards, to flatter the *Scots* in *Ireland*, as the governing party, and gain their favour and rewards, began to set them out in their rythms as very ancient inhabitants of the island, come into it time out of mind: and having afterwards, as we have observed, especially after they had some knowledge of the scripture, gotten some hints of long genealogies, they

they drew up genealogies for the leading men of the *Scots*, and led them up first to the supposed first heroes and founders of the *Irish*, and from thence up to *Noah* and *Adam*. Having also gotten some notion of chronology, they seem to have at first fixed the time of the coming in of the *Scots* to about six or seven hundred years before the incarnation, as we have elsewhere shewn; and the *Scots* in *Britain*, having received these first draughts of the genealogy and chronology from the *Irish*, have preserved them much in the same state in which they were at first broached, having no national concern, as the *Irish* had, to alter (a) them, in order to make their settlement in *Ireland*, and their monarchy remount to a higher antiquity.

§. 2. *The settlement of the Scots in Britain placed before the incarnation, but no kings till Fergus son of Erch.*

THE story of the *Scots* settlement in *Ireland* six or seven hundred years before the incarnation being generally received, it was the more easy to think that their first settlement in *Britain* was also very ancient: that the *Scots* coming in at first to *Britain* by degrees, insensibly, and in small numbers, and not in bodies of men, the memory of the time of the coming in of the first of them

(a) *Supra*, p. 479, &c.

might in some ages be quite worn out. And they being originally the same people with the *Scots* in *Ireland*, and the ancient settlement of these last in *Ireland* being generally received, it was the more likely that the settlement of those in *Britain* must have been ancient also; that the passage from *Ireland* first to the western islands, or to *Kintyre*, *Lorn*, *Argyle*, and other western coasts of *Britain*, the first possession of the *Scots* in this island, was more short and easy.

Now the first *Scots* being come into *Britain*, as we suppose, in the third (a) age of christianity, though they made no figure there till the fourth; their descendents in the seventh or eighth age, after ten or twelve generations, ignorant of the precise time of their coming in, and knowing only that they were settled in *Britain* time out of mind, would naturally be inclined rather to augment, than diminish their antiquity in the seats which they then enjoyed (ancient possession being an honourable title) when the question was about the time of their settlement. Wherefore we must not wonder, that *Bede*, who had his informations from some *Scottish* monks in the eighth age, when he wrote his history, seems to have believed, on their credit, that the (b) *Scots* were settled before the times of the incarnation, not only in *Ireland*, but even in

(a) *Supra*, p. 638, &c.

(b) *Ecd. l. i. c. i.*

Britain : and for the same reason (a) *Nennius* also, a *British* writer of the ninth age, seems to place the coming in of the *Scots* to *Dalried* (the ancient name of their possessions in *Britain*) about five hundred years before the incarnation, that is, about an age or two after their first coming to *Ireland*, according to the *Irish* tradition, not as yet altered in his time.

THIS opinion of the ancient settlement of the *Scots* in *Britain*, being once received among them, was too honourable to be abandoned, and much more likely to be improved, than examined in such ages, as the ninth, tenth and eleventh: and accordingly we find, that in the twelfth and thirteenth following ages, it was not only held among the *Scots* as certain, but the time of the *Scots* first coming into *Britain* condescended upon, to have been about the year four hundred and forty-three before the incarnation, according to the *Latin* (b) chronicle in verse, in the following passage.

*Bis bis centeno quater endeca, sed minus uno
Anno, quo sumpsit primos Ergadia Scotos
Ut referunt isti fuit incarnatio Christi, &c.*

And here I cannot but take notice of a mistake (I shall give it no other name, out of respect to so truly learned a person) that *Usher* (c), and others,

(a) *Nennius*, c. 9.

(b) *Append.* n. 6. c. 6.

(c) *Brit. Eccl. Antiq.* p. 312.

copying after him, to bring down as low as they can the settlement of the *Scots* in *Britain*, have fallen into, in applying the number of four hundred and forty-three years, contained in these verses to the times posteriour to the incarnation: whereas by a little attention to what goes before, and what follows after, these verses in this short chronicle, it would have clearly appeared, that the author's meaning was, that the *Scots* were settled in *Britain* four hundred and forty-three years before the incarnation. I say, four hundred and forty-three years, and not four hundred and thirty-nine. For in all the best copies of this chronicle, such as that in the *Scotichronicon*, or *black book of Pasly* in the king's library at *London*, in the *Scotichronicons* of the college of *Edinburgh*, in that of *Panmure*, and in that of the *Scotish* college of *Paris* there is, *Bis bis centeno quater (endeca) sed minus uno, &c.* and not *quater & deca, &c.* as it seems *Usher's* copy had it. This is farther confirmed, by the following more ancient *Scotish* writers, such as *Winton* and *Gray*, who both of them copied from the records of *St. Andrew's*, and both place the first settlement of the *Scots* in *Britain*, about four hundred and forty-three years before the incarnation.

But tho' the author of this chronicle and other writers about this time, were perswaded of this ancient settlement of the *Scots* in *Britain*; yet not only this author hath not a word of any kings of

of the *Scots* before *Fergus* son of *Erc*; but on the contrary, he tells us plainly, that the *Scots* lived long in *Britain* before they had kings, and both he and all the remains of our ancient histories, and all our other writers of the thirteenth age down to our debates about the independency of *Scotland* with *Edward* I. before *Pope Boniface* VIII. are positive, that the *Scots* had at least no sovereign kings of their own nation in *Britain*, before king *Fergus* son of *Erc*, and all of them place him the first monarch of the *Scots* in *Britain*, as we (a) have shewn elsewhere.

§. 3. *First rise or origin of the opinion of ancient kings of the Scots in Britain, before the incarnation: but nothing yet determined as to their number or names.*

WE have given some account in another place (b), upon what occasion the opinion of ancient *Scotish* kings in *Britain*, was at first started at the debates with king *Edward* I. before the *Pope* about our independencies, contained in the two records set down at length by the best continuators of *Fordun*; whereof the one is the memorial (c) sent by the states of *Scotland* to their three deputies at the court of *Rome*; the other is the (d) memorial or

(a) *Supra*, p. 676.

(b) *Supra*, p. 1621.

(c) *Fordun*. edit. Tho. Hearne, p. 1835.

(d) *Ibid.* p. 1833.

process of *Baldred Bisset*, the chief of these deputies: both given in to the pope, *A. D.* 1301. we have given a full account of them in the place above-mentioned.

IN these debates, as hath been observed, our deputies, like skilful and zealous advocates in a cause of the highest importance to their country, made use of all sort of arguments to defend it. They proved our independency by what could be found in the country of ancient records. They endeavoured to raise in the eyes of the *Pope*, and court of *Rome*, a high opinion of the *Scotish* nation, and of its prerogatives above the *English*, by the ancient settlement of the *Scots* in *Britain*; which in those days they made no doubt of, having then for several ages been generally received by them; from their having received christianity long before the *English* or *Saxons*; from their having still preserved their freedom, and kept possession of the same territories in the north of *Britain* for so many ages, notwithstanding their being attacked by so many enemies; whilst the south of *Britain* or *England* had so often lost its freedom, and been so frequently subjected to new masters, *Romans*, *Saxons*, *Danes* and *Normands*.

BUT king *Edward I*, in his letter to the pope, having brought his accession and pretended superiority over *Scotland*, down from *Brutus*, *Locrinus*, and the ancient *British* kings, which, however
fabulous

fabulous, pass'd current in those days ; the *Scots*, would not be behind-hand with him in that neither ; and therefore having, as they believed, probable grounds to go upon, the advocates of the *Scots* advance before the pope, that the *Scots* had also a succession of ancient kings from before the incarnation. This is indeed the first time we hear of it, but the *Scotish* deputies advanced it with the greater confidence that, besides the pressing occasion they had for it, in that juncture, not to have the *Scots* thought any ways inferior to the *English*, in so honourable a prerogative as that of an ancient monarchy ; besides this, the thing in it self seem'd probable enough in those days.

FOR to say nothing here of our kings being descended time out of mind from the *Pictish* kings in whose right they had succeeded ; it was now some ages since the opinion of the *Scots*, their having been settled four or five hundred years in *Britain* before the incarnation, and so about nine hundred years before the reign of *Fergus* son of *Ereb*, was generally receiv'd, as (a) we have shewn among the *Scots* : Now that the *Scots*, a people almost always in war with their neighbours, could be in *Britain* about eight or nine hundred years, a headless people, and without a king, was a thing that seem'd no ways probable, or rather almost intirely incredible.

(a) *Supra*, p. 73.

BESIDES, that this memorial of the *Scots* was drawn up in great haste (*cum festinatione*) in *Scotland*, so that they had not leisure to examine things maturely, or to consult those that were most versed in the antiquities of the nation, but were obliged to set down such notions of them, as their memory or popular traditions could furnish them, or rather their secretaries, and at the same time, to give them the most favourable turn for the support of their cause that they could think of. And upon the whole, considering the ignorance the *Scots* were in (since the destruction, or carrying off the ancient documents of their history) the persuasion they were in, of their ancient settlement in *Britain*; and the little probability there was, that they could have been so many ages in *Britain* without kings; I can scarce doubt but their deputies, and those that drew up their memorials, had perswaded themselves, that the *Scots* had a succession of kings from their first settlement. And this came afterwards to be a common opinion among them, but without condescending as yet upon their names, not even upon that of the first king or founder, till *Fordun's* chronicle was published and universally received in the fifteenth century.

BUT as to *Baldred Bizet*, one of the deputies, his telling the *Pope* in his memorial (a), that the *Scots* had thirty-six catholick or christian kings be-

(a) *Fordun. Edit. Hearne, p. 887.*

fore the *English* were converted to christianity, this, I own, is a stretch I cannot fathom, or guess at the grounds on which he went, except that it shews, that he knew nothing yet certain in particular, about the beginning of the monarchy or christianity among the *Scots*: for at that rate the *Scots* would have had christian kings before the times of christianity: since even in *Boece's* account, *Metellan*, whom he places about the time of the incarnation, was but the thirty-second king upwards from king *Aydan*, in whose time the gospel was preached to the *Saxons* or *English*.

YET there is another *Scotish* writer in these dark times, mentioned by the continuators of *Fordun* (a) that surpasseth in the antiquity of the *Scotish* monarchy, even *Baldred's* memorial: for he tells us, that the *Scots* had twenty-three kings before the *Picts* came into *Britain*, which, according to this writer's accounts, happened above two hundred years before the incarnation. So that according to him, the beginning of the *Scotish* monarchy would be placed about six or seven hundred years before the incarnation; since twenty three of our kings reigns in no age, or writer, take up less than betwixt four and five hundred years.

BUT 'tis easy to observe from these high flights and incredible accounts, that when the first men-

(a) *Scotichronol.* 4. c. 10.

tion of these ancient kings, before *Fergus* son of *Erc*, began (that is, at the end of the thirteenth or about the beginning of the fourteenth age), there was nothing yet fix'd or agreed on about them; and those incredible accounts given by those who first mention them, insinuate plainly enough, that the opinion was as yet new and undigested; advanced only at a venture, in a necessary juncture to serve a turn. It required time to make it ripen, and the labours of posterior writers to digest it, to fix the date of the monarchy, the number of kings, their names; at least that of the first and founder. All this was the work of time: but the fabrick was now begun; we shall see there wanted not hands, as occasion offered, to finish it piece-meal.

§. 4. *The number of those ancient kings first mentioned, but no account as yet of their names, not even that of the first king or founder of the monarchy, nor the time of the beginning of the monarchy as yet fixed.*

THE next step then of the growth of our remote antiquities, was the fixing the number of these ancient kings. This we have for the first time advanced transiently; rather than determined (for posterior writers stuck not by it) about twenty years after the first mention of them: we have it, I say, in the famous letter of our *Scottish* nobility, under king *Robert the Bruce*, to *Pope John XXII. A. D. 1320*. There they tell the

pope, that king *Robert* was the hundred and thirteenth king of the *Scots*. Now he being in reality but our fifty-third king from *Fergus* son of *Erc*, and even in *Fordun's*, and the vulgar account, but the fifty-seventh from this *Fergus*, they must have counted fifty-six kings before this *Fergus* II. and that is about sixteen kings more than *Boece*, *Buchanan* and our other modern writers suppose, who reckon only thirty-nine kings in all before this *Fergus*.

As for this number of one hundred and thirteen kings, it may be the nobility, or rather their secretary, reckon'd all at once, both the ancient kings of the *Picts*, and those of the *Scots*, in the number of their present kings ancestors, as they might very well do, since he was descended of them both, and was possess'd of both their rights. The *Pictish* kings, according to the best accounts of them given by the *Scots* (such as that of the register of St. *Andrew's*) being sixty in number; and those in the *Scotish* line, from *Fergus* son of *Erc* till *Robert Bruce*, making, according to our most ancient chronologists, just the number of fifty-three. Both these together make exactly that of one hundred and thirteen kings according to this letter.

But if any will insist rigorously upon the expression of this letter of the nobility (*de ipsorum* (*Scotorum*) *regali prosapia, nullo alienigena interveniente*) and conclude from thence, that all these

kings must have been of the *Scotish* race or line ; I offer them another conjecture, for verifying the expression of the letter, and finding out the hundred and thirteen kings.

SIMON BREAC was look'd upon by all the *Scots* for many ages before, as their leader from *Spain* ; who brought the fatal stone along with him, and first founded a monarchy of the *Scotish* nation. Now the *Scots*, in their letter to the *Pope*, take not the least notice of the *Scots* coming from *Spain* first to *Ireland*, and thence to the north-west of *Britain* ; but suppose that the *Scots* came straight from *Spain* to *Britain*, and possess'd themselves of these territories in the west of *Britain*, where they first settled, and which they still enjoy'd with the accession of the *Pictish* dominions.

Now tho' the *Scotish* nobility, or their secretary, do not expressly name *Simon Breac* in this letter, yet he being reputed in these times their leader from *Spain*, and first monarch of the *Scots*, 'tis like the secretary may have look'd upon the fifty-four or fifty-five descents or names in the old genealogy, from *Simon* till *Fergus* son of *Erch*, as so many kings descended of *Simon* the first *Scotish* king in these parts. And this, confounding the descents of the genealogy with the succession or reigns of kings, ought not to seem extraordinary in those times of ignorance, since the learned *Dr. Stillingfleet*

lingfleet

kingfleet (a) in our time, hath fallen into the same mistake, in taking a genealogical line for a succession of kings. Now the *Scots*, in their letter to the *Pope*, taking the fifty-five names, or descents, in the genealogical line from *Simon* till *Fergus* son of *Erch*, for fifty-five kings, and those added to the fifty-eight kings in the common account from *Fergus* son of *Erch* down till *Robert* the *Bruce*; both together make exactly the number of one hundred and thirteen kings, including king *Robert*. If these conjectures for the number of one hundred and thirteen kings, mentioned by the nobility, do not please: I leave to others to find out more likely grounds for it.

HOWEVER, neither in this letter, nor in any piece now extant of those times, do we find the names of these kings, not so much as that of the first, or founder, different from *Simon Breac*; for as to *Fergus* son of *Ferchard*, his being called the first king of the *Scots* in *Albany*, in the copy we have from *Fordun* and his continuators of the genealogy of our kings, in the end of king *David's* life (b), and in that recited by the highlander, at the coronation of king *Alexander III*, it cannot be doubted of, but these words, *Fergus first king of the Scots in Albany*, meaning *Fergus* son of

(a) Stillingfl. Orig. Britan. Præf. pag. 10, &c.

(b) Fordun. edit. Hearne, lib. 5. c. 50. pag. 487. ibidem pag. 765.

Ferchard,

Ferchard, are not of these times, nor of the first hand, but are a bare interpolation of *Fordun*, or of his continuators, according to their custom of adapting ancient historical pieces to the systems they had form'd to themselves. For, in all the genuine copies of this genealogy before *Fordun*, such as that of king *William's* time, set down here in the appendix, *num.* 4. as well as in that of *Ralf de Diceto* dean of *London*, in the same age; and in *Winton's* copy, who lived in *Fordun's* time, and in that of Mr. *James Gray* who lived after *Fordun*, both which were taken from the ancient records of *St. Andrew's*; in all these, I say, there's never a word of this *Fergus* son of *Ferchard* his being first king of *Albany*, or a king at all, but his bare name is ranked with the rest of the names of that genealogy, without the least mark of distinction.

AND neither in the memorials and process of *Baldred*, and of the other *Scotish* deputies, given in by the *Scots*, *A. D.* 1301. or in the letter to the pope, *A. D.* 1320, where we have the first mention of the number of these ancient kings, is there the least word of *Fergus* I. or of any one of these first kings by name: only the instructions of the states of *Scotland*, *A. D.* 1301, mention over and again, one *Erch*, as the father of our kings. 1°. They bring him in as son to *Gathcyl* and *Scott*, as first of our (a) kings at the settlement of the *Scots*

(a) *Fordun*. edit. *Hearn*. pag. 847.

in *Britain*, and as giving his name with that of his father, as they call him, *Gathel*, join'd in one name *Ercgathel*, to the country in *Britain*, which they first possess'd. 2. They place (a) him again a king of the *Scots*, *Ercb* son to *Ecbad* or *Erba*, and brother to *Eugenius* at the end of the fourth or beginning of the fifth century, about the time the monarchy is suppos'd by our modern writers to have been restored by *Fergus* son of *Ercb*. This double mention of *Ercb*, as the stock of our kings is remarkable, and shews us how much the tradition of our kings, being descended of *Ercb*, or rather of *Fergus* son of *Ercb*, was fixed in the minds of the *Scots* at that time, and that the notion of *Fergus* son of *Ferbard*, as our first king, was not yet known or invented.

BEFORE we enter upon the improvements made in our high antiquities by *John Fordun*, who first reduced them to a system and order, we must of course set down what *Winton*, prior of *Lochleven*, says of them in his chronicle. We have given account of *Winton* (b) among the rest of our writers: And tho' he wrote only some few years after *Fordun*; yet it's certain he had never seen *John Fordun's* chronicle, which, it appears, was not pub-

(a) Idem pag. 854.

(b) Supra, p. 642.

lish'd by *Bowmaker Abbot of Inchcolm*, till about the year 1448, and that after *Winton's* time. So *Winton*, knowing nothing of *Fordun's* new systems, was still much in the same darkness and uncertainty about our high antiquities, as the rest of the nation were in the beginning of the fourteenth age. But having made it his business to enquire into our history, and living at the end of the fourteenth age, and beginning of the fifteenth, we may learn from him, what progress the opinions already received about our ancient settlement, and antiquity of the *Scotish* monarchy in *Britain* had made, during the course of that fourteenth age, independently of *John Fordun's* labours, and what the common opinion and sense of the *Scots* was, upon these heads before *John Fordun's* system of our history was publish'd.

WINTON believed according to the tradition received many ages before, that the *Scots* were settled in *Britain* before the incarnation: and he fixes the *Epoch* of their coming in, about the year four hundred and forty three before the birth of Christ, as the short *Latin Chron. in Rythm* had done: And as to the opinion of the *Scots* having had kings before the *Picts*, or from about the time of their first settlement in *Britain*, first started as we have observed, at the debate with king *Edward I.* this opinion seeming so honourable to the nation, and having had in *Winton's* time about a whole age to ripen, and being then almost generally

rally receiv'd among the *Scots*, *Winton* goes into it heartily at first : But then being at the same time so fully persuaded, that *Fergus* son of *Erb* was the first king of the *Scots*, that (a) he repeats it over and over three or four several times in his chronicle ; and finding on the other hand, that there were only ten (b) generations or descents betwixt *Fergus* son of *Erb* and *Kenneth Mac Alpin*, who began his reign *A. D.* 842, and overcame the *Picts* ; and that it was impossible that these ten generations could last twelve hundred years, as they must have done, if *Fergus* son of *Erb* had begun to reign over the *Scots* from their first settlement in *Britain* in his account, more than four hundred years before the incarnation ; *Winton* is at last with reluctancy forced to part with the notion of the *Scots*, having had a king from their first settlement ; and yet being sure that the name of their first king was *Fergus* son of *Erb* (whom he calls always *Erb*, as it was the custom of that age to write) as it was true, he at last begins first to doubt, and then inclines to believe, that king *Fergus's* reign was not of so old date, and in short leaves the difficulty to be resolved by others.

IT is evident by the perplexity *Winton* was in, to reconcile *Fergus* son of *Erb*, his being the first

(a) *Winton's Chronicle*, MS. in *Bibl. Cotton.* fol. 30. fol. 37, 43.

(b) *Appendix*, num. 7.

king of the *Scots*, with the notion of kings of *Scots* from their first settlement before the incarnation, and before the *Picts*, that *Winton* knew nothing of any other king *Fergus*, but *Fergus* son of *Ereb*, who was but ten generations before *Kenneth Mac Alpin*; and that in *Winton's* days, that is, about the end of the fourteenth age, *Fergus* son of *Feradac* or *Ferchart*, called king *Fergus I*, was not as yet known as a king of *Scots*, either by *Winton*, or commonly among the *Scots*; and by consequence, that *Fordun's* chronicle, where we meet, for the first time, with the distinction of two kings, first and second of the name of *Fergus*, was not yet generally known in the kingdom, nor had ever been seen by *Winton*, having never been publish'd in all appearance till it came out with additions, during the reign of king *James II.* as hath been already remarked.

AND as to *Winton*, he was so far from looking on *Fergus* or (as he calls him with the oldest copies of the genealogy) *Fergo* or *Forco* son of *Feradach*, as the first king, or a king at all, of the *Scots*, that he sets down his name, as all the oldest copies of the genealogy do, confusedly among the rest of the names (a) of that genealogy of our kings, without taking the least notice of him, more than of the rest. Now had *Winton* gotten but a

(a) *Winton*, Book III. fol. 30. MS. Colon. ——— Bibl. Reg. Lond. lib. 3. c. 10.

hint of this first *Fergus* son of *Ferchard*, his having been a king of *Scots*, he had instantly disintangled himself, and had been able to reconcile his belief of the *Scots* having been settled four hundred years before the incarnation, with their having had kings, and the first of them a *Fergus* from the beginning (and so to have raised their antiquity higher than that of the *Picts*, which he and our other writers chiefly aimed at) since there were no less than forty-five generations, betwixt this first *Fergus* son of *Ferchard*, and *Keneth Mac Alpin*, which were more than enough to fill up twelve hundred years, and so would have reconciled all matters, and solved all *Winton's* difficulties. But this discovery was left to *Fordun*, whose labours in advancing the fabrick of our remote antiquities, and giving them a form, require to be treated of at more length.

§. 5. *John Fordun's labours in the remote antiquities of the Scots. These antiquities reduced into a fixed plan and chronological order.*

WE have already (a) given a general account of *John Fordun*, and more than once spoken of his labours in the *Scotish* history: we are now to treat of his bringing it to that fixed plan and order, which hath been followed by all our later writers, especially in what concerns our high antiquities,

(a) *Supra*, p. 201, &c. 225, 632, &c.

or the history of the *Scots* before *Fergus* son of *Erch*, commonly called *Fergus II.*

To do justice to *Fordun*, it appears by what we have said elsewhere of him, that none ever applied to history with more zeal for his country, nor with a better intention than *Fordun*, nor hath been at greater pains to find out materials, or to digest them in a more regular form, considering the times in which he wrote. For as to the substance of his chronicle, it must be considered, that *Fordun* wrote in an age when there was little or no critical learning, and very little distinction made betwixt certain and fabulous monuments of history; when uncertain popular traditions, and dubious legends, for want of better materials, were often employ'd as documents of history; when certain national preventions in favour of our remote antiquities run so high, that a mistaken zeal for what was thought in those days honourable to the country, and an apprehension to shock the better part of the nation, hindered *Fordun* from discussing matters, and so overswayed him, as it hath done many others, that he believed that the dignity of the crown and kingdom was concern'd in supporting by all means the current popular traditions of our remote antiquities, which were become daily more in vogue, since the debates about our independency with king *Edward I.*

HENCE

HENCE it happened, that the antiquities of the *Scots* made a new and considerable progress and figure in passing thro' *Fordun's* hands. For what had been only advanced by conjecture in times past, especially at the debate about the independency, and that only to serve a turn, and on bare probabilities, or advanced confusedly in different former ages, without order and connexion, as well as all the popular traditions about the ancient settlement of the *Scots* in *Britain*, the antiquities of the monarchy, &c. all this was by *Fordun* digested into a following series of history, reduced to chronological order, and supported with all the documents he had met with in his searches, fit for his purpose: documents indeed much of the same character, as the facts they were brought to support: but documents, after all, and vouchers, much of the same nature and credit as those brought by the writers of our neighbouring countries for antiquities of the same nature; by the *British* or *Welsh* for their *Brutus*, and the long tract of his ancient successors; by the *Irish* for their *Milesius* and his successors before christianity, for their ancient literature, and their other remote antiquities.

WE are now to consider *Fordun's* performances more in detail, the grounds he had to go upon, the method which he followed, and the means he was oblig'd to make use of, to put in a more re-

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gular

gular order the new plan of the fabrick of our remote antiquities, contained in the first, but chiefly in the second, and beginning of the third book of his chronicle.

As to his first book containing the story of the *Scotish* high antiquities from *Geythelos* or *Gathelus*, till *Fergus* son of *Terchart*, the substance of that (except what concern'd *Fergus* as a king) had been advanced, and by degrees received among the *Scots* long before *Fordun*; as we have already observed (a). And *Fordun* only enlarged on the same bottom, improved into better order these vulgar traditions, and fixed them to certain periods of chronology. It is chiefly in the last chapters of his first book, in his second, and in the first chapter of the third, that the *Scotish* remote antiquities received from him their greatest increase and improvement, and were brought to a more regular form and consistency.

WE have seen in the four foregoing paragraphs, the several steps or degrees of the growth of those antiquities, which, like a large fabrick, received new dimensions or additions from the several ages and different hands, through which they had passed, but nothing fixed or regular till *Fordun*. The first foundation of them, to wit, the opinion of the *Scots*, their having been settled in *Ireland*, long

(a) *Supra* p. 702. 733.

before the incarnation, had been laid many ages ago. The first superstructure upon that, to wit, of the *Scots* having been settled in *Britain* about four hundred years before the incarnation, ~~was~~ raised before the twelfth age. The first additions to that, to wit, of the *Scots* in *Britain*, their having had kings from their first settlement, was first started at our debates with king *Edward I.* about independency; and by the circumstances of the times and other reasons mentioned already in its proper place, soon gain'd credit among the *Scots*. The number of their ancient kings was named by conjecture, about twenty years afterwards, in the famous letter of the *Scots* nobility, to pope *John XXII.*

IT remain'd now for *Fordun's* task in this fabric, 1°. to reduce former superstructures into symmetry, by digesting the whole into distinct epochs, and a chronological order. 2°. to fix a certain epoch for the beginning of the *Scotish* monarchy in *Britain*. 3°. To reduce the number of their ancient kings, within a more plausible compass, to wit, to that of forty-five. 4°. To assign their names. 5°. At least to give us the name of the first king and founder of the monarchy. 6°. To give a chronological account of their reigns, at least such as he had given of the *Picts*, and as he gave afterwards of the *Scotish* kings from *Fergus II.* downwards. 7°. In order to support the credit of the story of the kings of *Scots* in *Britain* before *Fergus*.

son of *Erch* against the plain testimonies of all the above-mentioned remains of ancient monuments of the *Scots*, before the twelfth age, and the debates about our independency with *Edward I.* and others of a like purport, *Fordun* had to give a plausible reason, why in all these ancient remains of our history, *Fergus* son of *Erch* is reckon'd the first king of the *Scots* in *Britain*; which assertion alone, if not obviated or cleared, overturns at once all the system of the high antiquities of the *Scots*, or of their forty or forty-five kings before *Fergus* son of *Erch*, or *Fergus II.* Now *Fordun*, being persuaded of the truth of this system, look'd upon all that he met with of these remains, contrary to it, in his searches, barely as objections or difficulties, which he had to answer or remove by explications or distinctions. We have already had occasion to observe one means made use of by *Fordun* to that purpose; but another and more universal answer, was to find out or discover a dissolution of the ancient *Scotish* monarchy, founded by *Fergus I.* son of *Ferchard*, and continued down till it was ruined, towards the end of the 4th age of christianity, and a new erection or foundation of it by *Fergus II.* son of *Erch*, in the beginning of the fifth age; by which this *Fergus* son of *Erch* might be justly called the first king of the *Scots*, to wit, after the restoration of the monarchy.

WE are now to give an account of *Fordun's* proceedings in the execution of this task, consisting

ing of the seven heads above-mentioned. But before I enter upon that, 'tis of importance both for this, and for other parts of *Fordun's* chronicle to observe, that the chief means that *Fordun* made use of to compass his design, was to suppose as certain grounds or vouchers of history, not to be called in question, and that required no farther proof, the popular opinions or traditions received before his time among the *Scots* concerning their antiquities; and from these opinions, as from fixed principles, without farther examining the grounds of them, *Fordun's* method was to draw other historical inferences that seemed honourable to the country, and natural consequences of these popular opinions and traditions already in vogue.

BEFORE I proceed to the use and application of this method of *Fordun's*, in forming his new system of our history, in order to make it be more fully understood, I shall give here, by the way, a remarkable example of *Fordun's* proceeding by it in a matter of very great importance, tho' of a different nature, and which more properly belongs to the second part of this essay, but which hath had a surprizing influence into the civil, as well as ecclesiastical state of *Scotland*, which it was not possible for *Fordun* to foresee.

FORDUN found the opinion of the *Scots* having been settled in the north of *Britain* some ages before the incarnation, received as a certain

historical fact many ages before his time, and that of an ancient christianity among these *Scots*, being no less honourable to the nation, had been also received among them long before *Fordun's* days: tho' he is the first that we know of, who assigned to the conversion of the *Scots*, the fixed date of *A. D.* 203. and that quotes for this the verses.

Christi transactis tribus annis atque ducentis

Scotia catholicam cepit habere fidem.

Roma Victore primo papa residente

Principe Severo martyr et occubuit.

AND tho' the expression, *Victore primo*, demonstrates, that those verses are posteriour to the eleventh age, when pope *Victor II.* lived, and their barbarous composition shews, that they are yet later, yet they pass for good authority in *Fordun's* time, and apparently before it.

Now those two facts of the early settlement, and early conversion of the *Scots*, being received as historical truths that no-body called in question, when *Fordun* wrote, he meets in *Bede* and *Sigibert*, with the famous passage of *Prosper's* chronicle, bearing that more than two hundred years after this first suppos'd conversion of the *Scots*, *A. D.* 431. (a) *Palladius was ordained by*

(a) *Ad Scottos in Christum credentes ordinatur a papa Cælestino Palladius, & primus episcopus mittitur. Prosp. Chron.*

pope

pope Celestin, and sent the first bishop to the Scots, who believed in Christ. Fordun made no doubt, but these Scots believing in Christ, *credentes in Christum*, were the Scots of Britain. They had been in his opinion converted two hundred years before, and St. Patrick was not yet sent to convert the Scots of Ireland. The consequence in Fordun's judgment seemed evident; that during the two first ages of the christianity of the Scots, from A. D. 103, till A. D. 431, when Palladius the first bishop was sent to them, the Scots had lived without bishops; and since they had persevered in the profession of christianity, being still *credentes in Christum*; and that the profession of christianity could not be kept up during all that time, without doctors of faith, and pastors or ministers of the word and sacraments; and it being a certain truth, that in the absence or default of bishops, none were qualified to exercise those sacred functions but priests or monks elevated to the dignity of priesthood; from all this, as from unquestionable principles in Fordun's judgment, he draws this famous conclusion: that (a) *before Palladius's coming, the Scots had for doctors of faith and ministers of the sacraments, priests only, and monks following the rite of the primitive church.*

(a) Ante cuius [Palladii] adventum, habebant Scoti fidei doctores, ac sacramentorum ministratores, presbyteros solummodo, vel monachos, ritum sequentes ecclesiæ primitivæ. Fordun. lib. 3. cap. 8. edit. Tò. Hearne, p. 184.

THIS passage of *Fordun* at the new reformation of *Scotland*, became the corner-stone or fundamental charter of presbyterian government in that kingdom, as containing the most ancient account of church government, from the first establishment of the christian religion among the *Scots*. The same passage hath been ever since appealed to, by the successors of our first reformers in all the debates they have had with the episcopal party, concerning the government of the church. It hath also been employed by the most learned antagonists of episcopal government among foreigners, as one of their principal arguments: for as a learned (a) bishop of the church of *England* hath observed, *In that laborious collection of Blondel, under the title of an apology for St. Hierome, that writer, with all his vast reading, could not find one undoubted example of a church of the presbyterian way in ancient times, but only that of the Scots.*

WE may have occasion in the second part of this essay, to discuss this passage more fully, together with those of *Bede*, concerning *S. Columba*, and those of the *Keledees*, which are brought to strengthen *Fordun's* passage; but to say a word

(a) Bp. of St. Asaph's Governm. of the Ch. of G. B. preface, pag. 5.

here of this last, will not be out of the way, since it will serve to make *Fordun's* method to be more fully understood.

THIS famous passage of *Fordun*, *Ante cujus* [*Palladii*] *adventum*, &c. is a consequence which *Fordun* draws from two premises, whereof the one is absolutely groundless, and the other at least extremely dubious, tho' both of them were held for certain by *Fordun*. The first is, that the *Scots* in *Britain* were converted to christianity, *A. D.* 203. But we have no ground to believe that the *Scots* were come into *Britain*, *A. D.* 203. as hath been already shewn (a), and that the most that can be advanced with any probability or ground, is that the *Scots* began during the third age to come over from *Ireland* into *Britain*, under their first leader *Eocha Riada*, call'd *Reuda* by *Bede*. So there could be no conversion of the *Scots* *A. D.* 203, in *Britain*, where they were not as yet settled; nor by consequence any occasion as yet for pastors or ministers of any kind among them. So all the inferences drawn from *Fordun's* passage, *ante cujus*, &c. being built on the supposition of a profession of christianity, or christian church among the *Scots*, during above two hundred years before the mission of *Palladius*, are absolutely groundless.

(a) *Supra*, p.

THE other premise supposed by *Fordun*, is, that the *Scots* to whom *Palladius* was sent the first bishop, *A D.* 431. by pope *Celestine*, were the *Scots* of *Britain*. It may indeed be said, that *Palladius* was sent to the *Scots* in general, that is, to the nation of the *Scots* wherever they were settled, and so those of *Britain* might be comprehended; and 'tis not unlike, as we may have occasion to observe elsewhere, that this holy bishop, not being well received by the *Scots* of *Ireland*, and coming over to *Britain*, where he died among the *Picts*, may have probably announced the gospel to the *Scots* in *Britain*; but as the question is here, of his mission and destination by pope *Celestine*, it appears by another passage of *St. Prosper*, who relates this mission, that *Palladius's* mission regarded mainly the *Scots* in *Ireland*. For *Prosper* (a) seems visibly to distinguish the island to which *Palladius* was sent, as being a barbarous island, that is, in *Prosper's* language, an island that had never been subject to, nor cultivated by the *Romans*, from *Britain*, which he calls a *Roman* island, because the far greatest part of it (and among the rest, those provinces of *Scotland* that lie

(a) Nec Segniori cura hoc ab eodem morbo [*Pelagianismi*] Britannias liberavit [*Celestinus*] quando quosdam inimicos gratiz solum suæ originis occupantes, etiam ab illo secreto exclusit oceani: & ordinato Scotis episcopo, dum *Romanam* insulam studet servare catholicam, fecit etiam *barbaram* christianam. *Prosper contra Collator. cap. 41.*

to the south of the *Friiths*) had been civilized by the *Roman* discipline and polity.

BUT I add farther, that giving and not granting that this conclusion of *Fordun*, *ante cujus* [*Palladii*] *adventum*, &c. had been well drawn in the sense that *Fordun* meant it, the inference that the anti-episcopal writers draw from it, to wit, that before *Palladius's* mission, there was during two hundred years in *Scotland*, a succession of pastors, or ministers of the word and sacraments, who had no episcopal ordination, and none but that of *Laymen* or simple presbyters; this inference is absolutely groundless, for neither *Fordun* himself, who knew that the doctrine of presbyterian parity was contrary to that of the church of all ages, and had been lately condemned in his own time, among the propositions of *Wickliff*, could ever entertain any such imagination; no more than *Major*, *Beece*, *Lesly*, &c. who copied after him: but all that *Fordun* and these other *Roman Catholick* writers understood, or could understand by the expression *ante cujus*, &c. was, that tho' the *Scots* had, as they believed, received christianity, *A. D.* 203. yet they had not a proper bishop sent to them, or residing among them, till the coming of *Palladius*, *A. D.* 431. and so the christian *Scots* had been obliged till then to content themselves with priests and monks, elevated to the dignity of priesthood by the neighbouring or foreign bishops. But to conclude from that passage of *Fordun*, as the

the anti-episcopal writers do, that because (according to *Fordun*) these *Scots* christians had no proper bishop as yet sent to them, till two hundred years after their first conversion; that therefore they had no other ministers of the word and sacraments but nominal priests or monks, who took upon themselves the sacred functions, without episcopal or any other ordination, but that of *Laymen* or *Presbyters*, is no less ridiculous, than if one should conclude, that the clergy or regular priests, who were the only ministers of the word and sacraments among the *Roman Catholicks* in *Scotland* for more than one hundred years after the reformation, had no other ordination, but what they gave to one another, because, during all that time there was no bishop of their communion residing in *Scotland*.

As to the expression of *Prosper, ad Scotos credentes in Christum*. That *Palladius* was sent to the *Scots*, who believed in Christ, from which some conclude that the *Scots* were christians before the coming of *Palladius*. But that no ways follows. That there were some christians, or a beginning of christianity among the *Scots*, whether in *Ireland* or in *Britain*, when *Palladius* was sent, is very likely. They both dwelt in the neighbourhood of the *Britains*, who were early christians, and either by commerce with them, or by christian captives, which the *Scots* carried off frequently from among the *Britains*, there's all like.

lihood, that before *Palladius's* coming there were several christians among the *Scots* both in *Ireland* and in *Britain*: and it appears by ecclesiastical history, that it was the custom of the zealous bishops of the neighbourhood in ancient times, and more yet of the popes, to send in bishops to countries where there was already a beginning of christianity, or a disposition towards it. And this is all that *Prosper's* expression imports. But all this will be more fully discussed in its proper place.

THUS far only, by the way, as to this famous passage of *Fordun*, which hath been made use of by the antiepiscopal party in *Scotland*, as one of the chief arguments for presbyterain government, from the times of the reformation. So I return to *Fordun*, and to the particular account of his method of proceeding in the execution of his task, consisting of the seven above-mentioned heads.

As to the first head, or part of his undertaking, to wit, the reducing to fixed *Epochs*, and the digesting into a chronological order the confused mass of the materials he had to work upon, consisting chiefly of popular traditions, legendary accounts about the *Scotish* antiquities, and of all that had been till his time advanced in different ages, and on different occasions, of what had passed among the *Scots* before the fourth and fifth ages of christianity. As to all this, I say, we have (a)

(a) *Supra*, p. 207, 208, &c. *Book 3* already

already seen that he reduced to a certain order of chronology both these high antiquities, and the more modern and certain accounts of the *Scots* digested into fixed *Epochs*, in the abstract we have given elsewhere of the several books of *Fordun's* chronicle.

WE come therefore now to the second and fifth part of *Fordun's* task in the advancing the fabrick of our remote antiquities, to wit, the fixing a certain *Epoch*, and precise year of the beginning of the *Scotish* monarchy before the incarnation, and the assigning the name of the first monarch and founder of it.

THE tradition of the *Scots* ancient settlement in *Britain* was universally received among them long before *Fordun*; and this settlement was supposed to have begun above four centuries before the incarnation: but the first *Scotish* document we have now remaining of it, to wit, the short chronicle in (a) *Latin* verse or rythms, is positive that they had no kings in the *Scotish* line till *Fergus* son of *Ereb*. This we have shewn elsewhere, from all the monuments remaining of our ancient history before the year 1291. And the first mention we have of ancient kings, before *Fergus*, was at the debates in king *Edward I's* time. Tho' 'tis not improbable, that there were some notions and

(a) Append. n. 6. c. 6.

uncertain opinions begun to grow up and spread among the *Scots* before these debates: that seeming a natural consequence of their being persuaded that the *Scots* were settled in *Britain* so long before the birth of Christ: but till these debates, I find no certain testimony of it in any monument of History I have yet met with.

HOWEVER, the fact had been advanced, as we have seen, with great assurance, in the memorials given in to pope *Boniface VIII.* in the heat of the debate; and in the *Scots* nobility's letter to pope *John XXII.* and had now past current, and been generally received among the *Scots* from the beginning of the fourteenth century, till *Fordun's* time. So when he set about to write the history, he was no more master to contradict so plausible, and so received an opinion, nor indeed disposed to call in doubt what he esteemed honourable to the nation, and so acceptable to his countrymen, as the opinion of so ancient a succession of kings. He made it rather his business to confirm it: and probably the chief end of his travels and searches was to find documents proper for proving that, and the other heads above-mentioned.

TO return then to the second and fifth heads, to wit, the fixing the *Epoch* of the beginning of the *Scots* monarchy, and the person of the first king or founder: hitherto we have seen nothing agreed on since the first mention of ancient kings.

Neither

Neither the memorials, *A. D.* 1301, nor the letter to pope *John XXII. A. D.* 1320, fix any *Epoch* of the monarchy, nor so much as name the first king; and *Winton*; who according to the truth of history, named him *Fergus*, *Ercb's* son, as all *Scottish* writers; before *Fordun* had done, not being able to reconcile that with the vulgar opinion of the antiquity of the monarchy, falls in contradiction with himself, and at last leaves the matter in doubt, as we have seen, to be resolved by others:

FORDUN was the first, that we know of, who fixed the *Epoch* of the monarchy to the year 330, before the incarnation, and who places *Fergus* son of *Ferchart* the first king of the *Scots*, and founder of the monarchy.

As to his fixing the beginning of the monarchy to the year 330, before the birth of Christ, besides his vouchers, whom we shall just now consider, I conceive one of his chief motives to fix on that year may have been this plausible conjecture, that finding, as we have seen, the first settlement of the *Scots* in *Britain* fixed before his time to the year 443, or thereabout, before the incarnation, he thought it was natural to allow them about one hundred years to increase their number, and enlarge their bounds under the first leaders of their colonies from *Ireland*, before they got a king or monarch, to whom all were subject. So that placing the beginning of the monarchy, and of the

the reign of their first king, about one hundred and ten years after their entry to *Britain*, that is, about the year 330, before the incarnation, was very probable, on the supposition already received, that the *Scots* came first to *Britain*, about four hundred and forty years before it.

FORDUN was also the first, that we know of, who raised to the dignity of first monarch of the *Scots* in *Britain*, *Fergus* son of *Ferchart*, or *Feradaibh*, whose name had, till *Fordun*'s time, lain confusedly among the other names of the old genealogy of our kings, without any mark of distinction, or having ever been taken notice of, till *Fordun* added to his name, in the two copies he gives of the genealogy, the quality of *first king of Albany*; for none of the copies, antecedent to them, such as that in the appendix, *num. 4.* and that of *Ralph de Diceto*, both in the twelfth age, have that addition: nor even those that wrote after him, without copying his chronicle, such as *Winton* and *Gray*, &c. *Fordun* was determined to make choice of this first *Fergus*, and set him up for the founder of the *Scotish* monarchy, as a natural consequence from what he found already received and believed by the *Scots*, concerning these high antiquities; for that once supposed, nothing can be more plausible than the consequence he draws in favour of *Fergus* son of *Ferchart*.

FOR, 1°. The opinion of the *Scots* having had kings some ages before the incarnation, was generally received before *Fordun's* time, and having been made use of by the apologists of the *Scots*, in the debate for the independency and dignity of the crown against king *Edward I's* pretensions, it was no more to be called in question in *Fordun's* days. 2°. It was unquestionably more certain, and more universally received, that the name of the first king of the *Scots*, and of the founder of their monarchy in *Britain*, was *Fergus*. All the *Scots*, till the fourteenth age, had believed that it was *Fergus* son of *Ereb*, as we have seen; but this could not agree with the monarchy's beginning some ages before the incarnation, since this *Fergus* son of *Ereb* is placed, in the genealogy universally received, only ten generations or descents before *Keneth Mac-Alpin*, who lived in the ninth age. This was a labyrinth out of which *Winton* could not extricate himself.

FORDUN, who seems to have had more genius and learning, as well as more application, than *Winton*, found means to reconcile this contradiction; for, by looking back more attentively into the old genealogy, he discovered another *Fergus*, the son of *Feradach*, whom *Winton*, and all *Scotish* writers till *Fordun*, had passed over, without taking any more notice of him than of the rest of the old names in that genealogy:

nealogy: whereas *Fordun* finding this first *Fergus* in the series of that genealogy, about forty-five generations or descents before *Keneth Mac-Al-gin*, which, according to the vulgar reckoning of thirty years for each generation, amounted to a number of years sufficient to place this first *Fergus* at the beginning of the *Scotish* monarchy in his account, that is, three hundred and thirty years before the incarnation: upon this discovery, *Fordun* naturally concluded that this *Fergus* son of *Feradach*, was the *Fergus* first king and founder of the *Scotish* monarchy; and by this means reconciled the then current tradition of the monarchy's beginning some ages before the incarnation, with its having had a *Fergus* for its founder, and first king.

BUT because, by all the remains of the ancient history of the *Scots*, it appeared that the *Scots* had always held *Fergus* son of *Erb* for their first king, it was necessary that *Fordun*, in order to have his new scheme received with less difficulty, should in the first place bring some authorities to prove, that the first king of the *Scots* was *Fergus* son of *Ferchard*, and that the monarchy began three hundred and thirty years before the incarnation. 2dly, That he should find some means to answer the objection drawn from the ancient monuments, in which *Fergus* son of *Erb* is called in express terms the first king of the *Scots*. We are then in the first place to hear his proofs for be-

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ginning the *Scotish* monarchy three hundred and thirty years before Christ, and *Fergus* son of *Ferchart* his being their first king. We shall afterwards relate the means he makes use of, to obviate or explain the ancient testimonies of *Fergus* son of *Ereb*, his being the first king of the *Scots*.

His vouchers for the first are, 1°. these four *Latin* verses.

Albion (a) in terris rex primus germine Scotus
Ipforum turmis rubri tulit arma leonis
Fergusius fulvo Ferchard rugientis in arvo
Christum trecentis ter denis præfuit annis.

Fordun doth not tell us whence he had those verses, whether from any former writer or chronicle, new or old: but tho' I will believe he found them made to his hand, yet it must be own'd, that the author of them, be who he will, must have been very little skilled, if he intended that they should pass for ancient, since king *Alexander II*, in the thirteenth age, is the first of our kings, in whose seal we find the lyon rampant on his shield. For there are no arms on the seals of his predecessors *Duncan*, *Edgar*, *Alexander I*. *David I*. *Malcolm IV*. nor on that of king *William*, and the blazoning, 'tis like, is yet posteriour. So these verses

(a) *Fordun*. edit. *Hearne*, l. 2. c. 12. p. 85.

are probably no older than the fourteenth age, when, as we have observed, these ancient kings before *Fergus* son of *Erch* were first mentioned, or rather these verses are only the productions of *Fordun*'s own time, since he is the first who calls *Fergus* son of *Ferchart* first king of the *Scots*.

FORDUN's second voucher is a legend of *St. Congal* an *Irish* saint, which, he says, relates (a) that *Fergus* son of *Ferchart* brought with him the famous chair from *Ireland* to *Scotland*, and was crowned in it the first king of the *Scots*. It will no doubt at first appear a little surprizing, to find an account of this nature in the life of a saint. But it must be considered, that it was no unusual thing among the *Irish*, to set down stories of their remote high antiquities, or other parts of their history, in the preface to some of their saints lives. Thus we have in the preface to the life of *St. Abban* (b) and in that of *St. Cadroe* in *Colgan*'s collections, rude draughts of the *Irish* remote antiquities.

AND if *Colgan* had continued his collection till the twelfth of *May*, the feast of *Congal*, we might perhaps in the preface to it, have met with some word of a *Fergus* king of *Scots*; for I can scarce doubt, but that in *Fordun*'s time, there was ex-

(a) *Fordun*, l. 2. c. 12. edit. *Hearn*. p. 86.

(b) *Colgan*. *Act. SS. Hybern.* tom. I. p. 494, & 610.

tant something of this kind, in the life of that famous abbot of *Banchor* in *Ireland*, in the sixth age. But in case there was, no doubt it was to be understood of *Fergus* son of *Erch*, for this was the *Fergus*, who according to the old *Latin Rytimical* chronicle above-mentioned, brought from *Ireland* the famous stone, and made himself first king over the *Scots*, in the beginning of the sixth age, in which *S. Congal Abbot* lived. And so 'tis not unlikely, that such a famous transaction which happen'd near the saint's time, and which was so honourable to the *Scots*, both of *Ireland* and of *Britain*, might have been mentioned in the preface to this saint's life.

BUT 'tis like, *Fordun's* mistake lay, in supposing the *Fergus*, mentioned in this life, was the son of *Ferchart*, and in applying to him here, as he doth elsewhere, what he found said of a *Fergus* first king of the *Scots*, that brought over the famous stone; because for the reasons already given, he looked on *Fergus* son of *Ferchart*, as the first founder of the *Scotish* monarchy: tho' the original writer of *S. Congal's* life, no doubt meant *Fergus* son of *Erch*, whom all ancient writers, till the fourteenth age, looked upon as the first king of the *Scots*. So that legend of *S. Congal's*, tho' we could find it, would prove of no more service towards *Fordun's* system, in favour of *Fergus* son of *Ferchart*, than the *Latin* verses he brought for his first voucher.

I HAVE

I HAVE found at last the life of this *S. Congal*. It was published by *F. Fleming*, among the works of *St. Colomban*. But there's not a word of *Fergus* son of *Ferchart* in it, or any thing relating to *Fordun's* narration.

BUT there remained as yet the hardest and most essential part of *Fordun's* task, in order to support the new scheme of the *Scotish* kings, before *Fergus* son of *Erch*. He had to find a plausible answer to the objection drawn from the remains above-mentioned, of the ancient chronicles or histories of the *Scots*; in all which *Fergus* son of *Erch* is constantly reckoned first king of the *Scots*. *Fordun* was too diligent in his searches, to let such pieces escape his knowledge, and he was too ingenuous to deny their authority, how much soever they seemed opposite to his scheme of our antiquities: nay, he is so sincere as that he mentions, and even sets down, almost *verbatim* one of the most precise of them, as we have seen (a) elsewhere, and observed the turn which he gives the passage, by the adding a few words, to take off the force of it.

BUT that was not enough, nor like to satisfy those, in whose hands those ancient pieces should fall. They are all very formal, that *Fergus* son of

(a) *Supra*, p. 672, 673.

Erch was the first king of the Scots in Britain. The consequence seemed plainly to overturn *Fordun's* system of forty-five kings, or indeed of any sovereign kings at all, before this *Fergus* son of *Erch*. *Fordun* was aware of this consequence, and being, I suppose, at the same time fully perswaded of the truth of what he had advanced, he finds a distinction to evade the objection, to take off the force of the consequence; and to reconcile to his new system, the expressions of the ancient extracts of the chronicles, where *Fergus* son of *Erch* is constantly called first king of the Scots.

IN order to that, he found a very natural expedient to rid himself of that difficulty, and this was to suppose, that there must needs have been a second beginning and new founding, or rather a restoration of the kingdom of the Scots in Britain, by *Fergus* son of *Erch*, which gave sufficient ground to ancient authors, to call this *Fergus* the first king of the Scots, to wit, after the restoration of the monarchy. Now a restoration necessarily suppos'd a dissolution; and therefore *Fordun* is at so much pains to find vouchers for a dissolution or destruction of the kingdom of Scots, in the times immediately preceding the fifth age, where he places the restoration of *Fergus* II. He quotes for that a passage of *Sigebert*, who had copied *Tiro Prosper*, or *Gregory of Tours*. But all that the passages of these two writers import, is, that *Maximus* having usurped the empire, did beat o
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the *Scots* and *Picts*, who were making incursions upon it. But that was usual in those ages, and imports neither that the *Scots* had any kingdom then in *Britain*, nor that *Maximus* destroyed it, and indeed the bulk of the story that *Fordun* gives of *Maximus*, his martial feats in *Britain*, is originally owing to *Geoffrey*, who calls him *Maximian*, and makes him a *Britain*.

UPON the whole, *Fordun* seems to have argued or reasoned thus with himself, tho' he doth not express his argument in formal terms. *Fergus* son of *Ereb* was indeed first king of the *Scots* in *Britain*, as the ancient *Scotish* writers call him; but that is to be understood, that he was their first king after their re-entring *Britain*, and restoration of the monarchy: but it doth not follow, that this *Fergus* was absolutely their first king, or founder of the monarchy. There must needs then have been a dispersion of the *Scots*, and a destruction of their monarchy in *Britain* in the fourth age. *Fordun* continues: this dispersion of the *Scots*, and dissolution of their monarchy, lasted about forty years; during which time, all the *Scots* of *Britain*, princes, and people were dispersed and banished into foreign countries. At last, *Fergus* son of *Ereb*, descended of the ancient kings of the *Scots*, having gathered them together from several places, entered *Britain* at their head, conquered anew their ancient territories; and having set up again, and restored the monarchy, became a new founder

founder of it, and deserved to be called by the title of *first king of the Scots*, to wit, after this new erection or restoration of the kingdom. Thus *Fordun* must have reasoned, in order to reconcile his system of the forty-five kings, with the remains of the ancient chronicles of the *Scots*.

As to the grounds or vouchers that *Fordun* had for this expulsion of the *Scots* out of *Britain*, all that he brings, as we observed above, is a passage of *Sigibert*, and the seats of *Maximus* from *Geoffrey*, who calls him *Maximian*. But if *Fordun* had lived after the times of the restoration of literature in the sixteenth or seventeenth age, when many ancient *Roman* writers (which in *Fordun's* time lay unknown in the corners of ancient libraries) were published and made common, he would have met with proofs of a defeat and expulsion of the *Scots* and *Picts* out of their possessions by the famous general *Theodosius*, father to the first emperor of that name, during the reign of *Valentian I.* and of their being forced to retire at least to the northern extremities of *Britain*. All this he would have found in (a) *Ammian* and (b) *Claudian*, two famous writers of the time: and that it happened near about the time in which he fixes the expulsion of the *Scots* by *Maximus*.

(a) *Amm. Marcel. ed. Vales. in 4to. l. 27. p. 346, &c.*

(b) *Claudian. Panegy. in III. & IV. Consulatus Honor.*

I SAY *near about the time* ; for this expedition of *Theodosius* against the *Scots* and *Picts* happened at soonest, *A. D.* 367, whereas *Fordun* fixes the expulsion of the *Scots* by *Maximus* precisely to the year 360 ; and to confirm it, he brings verses which import that the exile of the *Scots* out of *Britain* lasted forty-three years, which ending in his account by the restoration, *A. D.* 403, determines the year 360 for their expulsion. But as this calculation agrees not fully with the expedition of the general *Theodosius*, so it disagrees entirely with the usurpation of *Maximus* by twenty-three years ; since he was not proclaimed emperor till *A. D.* 383. And the writers *Severus Sulpitius*, *Zozimus*, and others that lived in or near the time, ascribe no command to *Maximus* in *Britain*, nor so much as name him till he took the purple ; and are positive, that immediately after he was proclaimed emperor by the soldiers, he passed suddenly over to the *Gauls*, with all the forces he could make, and surprized the emperor *Gratian* unawares. This leaves no room for his expedition against the *Scots* and *Picts*, either before or after his usurpation, much less for his making a long war against them.

BUT besides that, neither these *Roman* writers, nor any other before the fourteenth age, give any ground to suppose that the *Scots* had any kingdom in *Britain* in the fourth age, we may surely reckon that *Fordun* had never seen these writers that
gave

gave an account of the expedition of *Theodosius*; nor perhaps ever heard of them. Accordingly in the forty-fourth, forty-fifth, and forty-ninth chapters of his second book, and first and second chapters of his third book, in which he gives an account at length of the expulsion and restoration of the *Scots*; whosoever will compare his narration with the fourth chapter of the second book of *Geoffrey's* history of the *Britons*, will easily perceive whence *Fordun* took the story of *Maximus's* achievements in *Britain*. And nothing that we have hitherto met with in *Fordun*, looks like a tolerable proof of a destruction or restoration of a *Scotish* monarchy in *Britain* in these times.

HOWEVER, to confirm it by a new argument, *Fordun* gives us another *Latin* piece of poesy, beginning with these words, (a) *Agmine condenso ventis, &c.* *Fordun* doth not tell us whence he had

(a) *Agmine condenso ventis velamina pandit :*

Et ratis æquoreos atque galca petunt

Fluctus : in his acies juvenum phalerata superbo

Principe concreditur. Nec mora, turba potens

Ad natale solum properat ; relevare jacentes

Rex fasces regni cespite sospes adit

Intrepidus patrio, pandens vexilla Leonis,

Terruit occursum quem fera nulla ferox.

Ocius advenit, fuerat quæ turbine diro

Subdita plebs, annis X quater & tribus ; hæc

Congaudens patrio regi servire parata,

Ad libertatem quicquid ut orbe volat.

Fordun. l. 3. c. 1. p. 171. edit. Th. Hearne.

these

these verses; but the lion placed in king *Fergus II's* banner, at the head of his troops, and the stile of the verses, can give us no better opinion of the author, and of the antiquity of this composition, than of the other verses already (a) mentioned, in which the entry of *Fergus I.* to *Britain* is described. So, upon the whole, it appears, that the chief ground *Fordun* had to go upon, for a dissolution and restoration of the *Scotish* monarchy in the fourth age, were not drawn from the authority of ancient writers, but that his chief motive was to reconcile, by that means, the formal expressions of the extracts or abridgments of the old *Scotish* chronicles, such as we have set them down, with the persuasion that he was in, that the *Scotish* monarchy was begun many ages before *Fergus* son of *Erch*.

As to his placing the beginning of *Fergus* son of *Erch's* reign in the year 403, instead of 503, and thus anticipating the date of it a full hundred years, as we have (b) shewn, I see no other reason for this, than that looking on the beginning of this *Fergus's* reign, rather as the restoration of an ancient kingdom, dissolved by oppression and invasion, than as the setting up a new one, and finding in such histories, as he had occasion to meet with, no more proper person to become the author of

(a) *Supra*, p. 740.

(b) *Ibid.* p. 690. &c.

the *Scotish* overthrow, than the tyrant *Maximus*; as he is described by *Geoffrey*, towards the end of the fourth century, he found it necessary to place the restoration about the beginning of the fifth century, lest if he had deferr'd it, and by consequence the beginning of *Fergus II's* reign, till the sixth century, the interval of about one hundred and forty years would have been too long, and the monarchy restored by *Fergus II.* would rather have looked like the setting up of a new kingdom, than the continuation or restoration of an ancient one.

BUT it happened here to *Fordun*, what usually falls out to those that build upon a crazy foundation, the building they erect must necessarily be tottering, and full of crevices, so that no sooner one chink or crevice is filled up, but another breaks out. This anticipating the reign of *Fergus II.* about one hundred years (besides that it is contradicted by all the remains of our ancient history, and by the common way of allowing three generations to a century) threw *Fordun's* system into another inconveniency, and discovered a new flaw in it, by making three generations fill up two centuries, against the constant course of descents, and succession of the race of our kings ever since; as I have (a) shewn elsewhere.

(a) *Supra*, p 690, 691.

As to the number of the ancient kings preceding *Fergus II*, there was nothing certain till *Fordun*: we have (b) seen the uncertainties and contradictions under which our countrymen labour'd, when the story of these ancient kings was first advanced. The first account we have of their number from an unknown (c) hand in these dark times, is absolutely incredible: and I have seen a *Scotish* writer (d), in the time of king *James III.* or *IV.* that reckons the number of these kings six score, beginning at *Simon Brek*, who, this writer supposes, came in Person to *Scotland*. The *Scots* nobility's letter to pope *John XXII.* *A.D.* 1320, reduces them from that exorbitant number, and fixes the number of these ancient kings to that of fifty-seven. *Fordun* lays aside about a dozen more, and reduces them to forty-five. *Boece*, and his followers, takes off five or six more, and fixes the number of the kings before *Fergus II.* at thirty-nine; by all which, we see the *Scots*, in former ages, were not so scrupulous as some of our modern writers, who make it a crime to alter the number of those ancient kings, as they are set down by *Boece*. But to return to *Fordun*, he gives us no account of the grounds he went upon, for this number of forty-five, nor so much as the names of these kings, except three or four, or

(b) Ibid. p. 709, 710.

(c) Ibid. p. ibid.

(d) Biblioth. Reg. Lond. ad calcem Chron. And. Winton.

such

such as may be supposed to be in the old genealogy, without distinguishing who of those were kings, or who were not.

As to their lives and actions, we are left almost quite in the dark by *Fordun*. He gives us a touch of the beginning of his *Fergus I*'s reign, applying to him as the first king, what belonged to *Fergus* son of *Erch*, who was truly the first king; and, after adding something of *Rether*, whom he supposes all one with *Beda's Reuda*, all the rest of his second book designed to contain the history of his forty-five kings, is filled up; most part, with parcels of the general history, sacred or prophane, of these first ages; and particularly of the *Romans*, *Britons*, *Scots* and *Picts*, taken from *Eutropius*, *Bede*, *Jeffery* of *Monmouth*, &c. from some legends and traditions of the vulgar; and without so much as naming any one more of these forty-five kings: *Fordun* concludes their whole history in these few words: (a) *A primo hujus Regni Rege Fergusio filio Ferechard ad [hunc] Regem Fergusium filium Erch inclusive quadraginta quinque Reges ejusdem gentis & generis, in hac insula regnaverunt. Sed & horum, singillatim distinguere tempora Principatum, ad præsens omittimus, nam ad plenum scripta non reperimus.* This is indeed but a sorry account of these his ancient kings: however, in these last words, *Fordun* insinuates, that he had found some

(a) Ford. l. 3. c. 2. edit. Hearn. p. 173.

account of them, but not full enough to be set down.

THE truth is, *Fordun* had the old genealogy, containing the series of the descents, from *Fergus* son of *Ferchard*, called *Fergus* I, till *Fergus* II. the son of *Ercb*. This was indeed some account, being about thirty-two names: but though they had been all kings of *Scots* in *Britain*, which was to be proved, yet there were still wanting twelve or thirteen more to make up the number of forty-four or forty-five. So he had reason to say, that he had not as yet found a full account of them.

IF *Fordun* had left any other account of the forty-five kings than this, it would, no doubt, have been preserved with a yet greater care than the collections, it is believed, he left towards continuing down his chronicle after the first five books. These collections have been preserved, and perhaps may be a part of what *M. Hearne* hath printed, beginning p. 499 of his edition of *Fordun*, A.D. 1722. Now any collections left by *Fordun* of the forty-five kings, had been much more precious than those of modern times, and had been, no doubt, preserved by those who had the care and keeping of his chronicles, and his other collections, or by some or other of his many continuators in the fifteenth age, who were all in quest of materials for supplying the deficiency

C c c

or

or gap in the story of the forty-five kings left imperfect in his second book.

THE words of *Fordun*, *A primo hujus Regni Rege, &c.* above-cited, craved that of them, and made a natural impression of the want of a supplement upon those that read or copied that passage: as we see by an addition to *Fordun's* text, in the MS. (a) chronicle of *Couper*; where, after these last words of the above-cited passage, *ad plenum scripta non reperimus*, the writer adds, *præterquam*, l. 3. c. 9. by which it would at first appear, that the writer sends us to a place, where we will find, at least, some farther account of the forty-five kings preceding *Fergus* son of *Erch*: but when we come to this place, all we meet with is a part of the old Latin chronicle in rythm, beginning *Primus in Ergadia Fergus rexit tribus annis*, and so continues down the rest of the series of the kings successors to *Fergus* II. son to *Erch*, instead of those of *Fergus* I, which the reader was put in hopes of. But this shews the lively impression that passage of *Fordun* made on that writer, of the want of a supplement to the forty-five kings. Most of the other continuators of *Fordun* have made additions to his text; but none of them give us any farther account of the forty-five ancient kings of *Scots* before *Fergus* son of *Erch*.

(a) Chron. Cupri MS. l. 3. c. 2.

THE

THE first I have met with that attempted it, is one *Gremond Domate*, whose MS. history is in the library of *St. Genoveve* at *Paris*. Of this author, and of his essay on the kings before *Fergus* son of *Erch*, I have (a) elsewhere given a full account, to which I refer the reader. I have only here to add, 1^o, That this writer, for a further account of the forty-five kings, sends us to the old books of *Ireland*: for, in his translation of *Fordun*, he gives this version, or rather paraphrase, in his old *Gaulois* of *Fordun*'s famous passage, *A primo bujus Regni Rege, &c. A (b) present laissons de parler [de ces 45 Rois] qui tous furent d'un mesme sang & genre comme plainement appert aux anciens Livres d'Hybernie (sic) car a present n'avons trouvé a plain de leur antique origine dignifique (sic)*. 2^o. That *Domate* wrote and dedicated his translation of this chronicle of *Scotland* to *John* duke of *Albany*, A. D. 1519, that is, about five or six years only before *Boece*'s history appeared in print, and about the very time that *Boece*'s famous vouchers were said to have been discovered with an ample account, as *Boece* tells us, of the first forty kings.

(a) Supra, p. 633.

(b) *Grem. Domate*, MS. liv. 3. chap. 2. fol. 50.

CONCLUSION.

§. 6. *Sixth and last step of the growth of our high antiquities by Boece and Buchanan.*

IT only remains to treat now, 1°. of *Boece's* own labours, and of his bringing the fabrick of our high antiquities to its full height and dimensions, by giving us, on the credit of his vouchers, besides other embellishments, a detailed account of the lives and actions of the forty kings before *Fergus son of Erch*, which *Fordun*, and his continuators, had left so lame and imperfect. 2°. Of the polishing and adorning this fabrick by *Buchanan*, a more polite writer, and more skilled architect, who, removing the rubbish of palpable fables, and reforming the irregularities that *Boece's* unskilful hand had left in that fabrick, reduced it to a more perfect symmetry, and varnished it all over, to render it more taking and agreeable to his countrymen, and more proper to support the cause in which he was embarked.

BUT having given elsewhere a full account of the labours of both these writers of our history in its proper (a) place, I need only refer the reader to it.

(a) *Supra*, p. 214, &c. and p. 305, 361, &c.

BUT

BUT to do justice to *Hector Boece*, I cannot but add here to what I have (a) elsewhere observed, that as to the motives he had in writing our history, I cannot see the least ground to suspect that he himself had any view or design to support any party or faction against the sovereign, or to justify the rebellion against king *James III.* but quite the contrary, in the catalogue which *Boece* left of our kings, in which he gives a short character of each of them, and continues it down till king *James V.*; he gives a quite contrary character of king *James III.* from what *Buchanan* gives him, and from what he himself had given of the wicked kings from his *Veremund*; and speaks with indignation of the conspiracy of a part of the nobility against him, and of the manner of his death that ensued upon it. And no wonder; for he had his information from the great and loyal bishop *Elphinston*, who remained stedfast in his fidelity to his sovereign king *James III.* to the last moment. All this is a new confirmation that *Boece's* simplicity was imposed upon by the pretended histories of *Veremund*, &c. which he took for genuine copies of ancient pieces, though, as it hath been shewn elsewhere, they were forged after the act passed to justify the rebellion against king *James III.* and most probably by some of those concerned in that rebellion, or by dependers

(a) *Supra*, p. 365.

on those who had a hand in it. But enough of that in its proper place.

As to *Buchanan*, his motives in writing our history, are demonstrated by his own actions and writings; of which enough also hath been said.

AND now, after all that I have said in this chapter, and the account that I have given of the several steps and additions, by which our high antiquities grew up through the several ages and hands they have passed, the learned and judicious reader will be now pretty well satisfied, that at the bottom all the story of these remote antiquities, that is, of the forty kings of the *Scots* in *Britain* before *Fergus* son of *Ereb*, are, if not absolutely fabulous, at least entirely uncertain and groundless, notwithstanding all the details of facts, successions of kings, attended with genealogies, and chronological dates, and all the other characters (except that of sufficient vouchers) of ancient authentick histories, in which they are dressed up, and of the air of assurance with which they are presented by *Bocce* and *Buchanan*.

BUT, at the same time, I hope that the learned among my countrymen will easily observe, that the freedom that I have taken to lay open the uncertainty of those remote antiquities, as they are delivered by our modern writers, doth in no manner derogate from the real honour of our country:

country: for, besides that, there can be no real honour, but what is grounded upon truth; what hath been said in the first book of this essay, particularly of the descent of the present Inhabitants of *Scotland*, from the most ancient, or first known inhabitants of the northern parts of *Britain*; to wit, partly from the *Meats*, or *Midland Britains*, partly from the *Caledonians* or *Picts*, as well as from the *Scots*; and of the antiquity of the monarchy of *Albany*, and number of kings in the *Pictish* line, doth abundantly compensate the loss of the first forty kings; as the honour of the pretended martial achievements, attributed by *Fordun*, *Boece*, &c. to the *Scots*, under the reigns of *Julius Caesar*, *Augustus*, and the following first *Roman* emperors, without any authority, is fully counterballanced by the noble opposition that the *Romans* met with from the *Caledonians*, and their maintaining their ancient possessions to the north of the *Friiths*, and their liberty, during so many ages, against all the *Roman* forces in *Britain*, whilst all the other inhabitants were brought under the *Roman* yoke. And all this supported by the testimony of the best contemporary *Roman* writers.

To conclude now this essay; I hope the reader will have met with in it as distinct an account, as the few remains we have of these first times do furnish us, of the several ancient inhabitants of the northern parts of *Britain* (so well known these

many ages by the name of *Scotland*) to wit of the *Romans, Britains, Caledonians or Picts, Scots, &c.* I have endeavour'd to trace each of these people down, from the first appearance they make in these parts of *Britain*, till they disappeared under their proper names, either by retiring elsewhere, or by being, by degrees, incorporated into one body of people, and under one government, with the *Scots*, become to be the ruling people, they came all, at last, to be known by the common name of *Scots*.

THE view I have given of the situation of these several ancient inhabitants, especially in the earliest times of christianity in those northern parts, will appear with more advantage in the second or chronological part of this essay, if I live to continue it, and will help to discover to the reader the occasions of the first entry of the light of the gospel, and of the progress that the doctrine and discipline of the christian church made among these northern nations. All these dispensations of the mercies of God having often, in the common course, a certain connexion with the civil state and circumstances of a people on whom it pleases God to bestow them, according to his infinitely wise providence.

APPENDIX

OF

ANCIENT PIECES.

HAVING already given an account of the several pieces contained in this APPENDIX, and there being before each of them a reference to the page of this essay, where they are described, it would be unnecessary to say any thing further here.

BUT the names of the first forty-two kings of the *Scots*, from *Fergus* till *Malcolm Keanmore*, which frequently occur in these pieces, being all of them originally *Gaelick*, or *Irish*; from thence it hath happened, that most of our writers, being *Lowlanders*, ignorant of that ancient language, there hath ensued so great a variety in the pronouncing, spelling, and writing those old names in the different writers, MS. or printed; and our modern historians have at length so altered some of them, that they appear quite different names; and no more like to those which we meet with in the ancient chronicles or catalogues of our kings: so that without some knowledge of the more ancient forms of writing these names, it is not possible

to understand some important passages concerning *Scotish* matters, that occur in ancient pieces.

WHO could, for example, by consulting only the names of our kings, such as our modern writers represent them, understand by which of our kings these ancient laws and statutes were at first made, which according to the second piece in the appendix, *n. 2.* are said to have been renewed by king *Donald Mac-Alpin*, in an assembly of the *Scots* at *Forteviot*? In *hujus* [Domnalli R.] *tempore jura ac leges Edi filii Ecdach fecerunt Goedeli* [i. e. *Scoti*] *cum rege suo in Fothuir-tabaicht*? For in the modern catalogues of our kings, such as those of *Fordun*, *Boece* and *Buchanan*, we find no such names; whereas in ancient chronicles or catalogues, we meet with *Eda* or *Edus*, whose surname was *Fion*, i. e. *White*, the eighteenth king of the *Scots*; called by the moderns, in one word, *Etsinus*, who was son to *Eochoid Rinneval*, called otherwise *Echdach* or *Echadach*, the thirteenth king, whom our moderns miscall *Eugenius quintus*: so of these ancient laws made about the beginning of the eighth age, we should know nothing, by consulting our modern writers, tho' they must have been very famous in ancient times, since they are taken notice of by this *Irish* writer (for such I take him to have been, till I can meet with farther light concerning him.)

FOR

FOR these, and such like reasons, especially to help to understand any other ancient pieces of our history that may yet be discovered, at home or abroad, I conceived it would be an useful curiosity to give here, by way of introduction to this *Appendix of Ancient Pieces*, a catalogue of these first forty-two kings, according to the order of their succession, as I find it uniformly set down in all the more ancient chronicles or catalogues of them, taken from our genuine annals, together with all the various forms in which I have observed these names written in ancient or modern authors; and, in the first place, those names, as they are originally written in *Gaelick*, upon which all the rest, by different pronunciations, corrupt reading, ignorance of the language, &c. have been formed or derived from them. In the last place, I shall set down the names given to these kings by our modern historians.

MEAN time, the reader may find, *p. 131, supra*, where I have treated of the names of the *Pictish* kings, some remarks upon the occasion of these alterations in ancient names, to which I refer. I shall only here observe, that the letter C in *Gaelick* or *Irish*, is always pronounced K; and the letters B H and M H, are pronounced V; and G H W: that in the notes on the pieces of the appendix, these abbreviations F, signifies *forte* or *forfitan*; and L, *Lege*.

THE

The letters ^a ^b ^c, &c. placed over the various names in the following catalogue of the first forty-two kings of the Scots, mark the chronicles or writers whence they are taken, according to this Index.

- ^a Appendix, num. 3.
- ^b Appendix, num. 4.
- ^c Genealogia in Append. n. 4.
- ^d Append. n. 5.
- ^e Append. n. 6.
- ^f Winton's Chronicle.
- ^g Fordun's Chronicle.
- ^h The two Genealogies in Fordun.
- ⁱ Bocce.
- ^k Buchanan.

Cata-

Catalogue or Series of the names of the first forty-two kings of the Scots, according to the true order of their succession with the various forms of their names, as they are found in ancient and modern writers.

- 1 **F**EARGUS fil. Ere, Erch^d, Eric^b, Erth^f.
- 2 Domangard, Domhangard^b, Dovenghart^d, Donegart^c, Dongard^g, or Dongardus^k.
- 3 Comgall, Congal, Congel^b, Congallus^k.
- 4 Gabran^c, Gabhran, Gauran^d, Gouren^c, Goveran^b, Gonranus^k, Conranusⁱ.
- 5 Conall, Convallus^f.
- 6 Aodan, Aidan, Edan^b, Edain^h, Edhan^d, Aidanus^g.
- 7 Eochoid-buidhe, Eochod-flavus^b, Heoghed-bude^d, Eoghed-bod^c, Hecged-bud^f, Echac-buidhe, Ochabind^h, Eugenius IV.^{g k}.
- 8 Connadh-cearr, Kinat-kerr^d, Kinat-sinister^b, Keneth-kerⁱ.
- 9 Fearchair^d, Fercar^b, Ferquarth^c, Ferquardus^k.
- 10 Domnall-breac, Domhnal-breac, Dovenald-varius^b, Downald-brec^f, Donaldus IV.
- 11 Malduin, Maldowny^f, Malduinusⁱ.
- 12 Fear-

- 12 Fearcair-fada, Fergar-longus^b, Ferchar-soda^c,
Ferquardus^k.
- 13 Eochoidh-rinnemhail, Eochol-habens-curvum-
nafum^b, Heogheda^d Rinavel-Echdac-Echa-
dach^{a, h}, Eogheda^e, Hecged-ronaval^f, Eu-
genius V^{g, k}.
- 14 Ainbceallach, Armchallach^e, Arinchellac^b,
Armkellecth^d, Amrikelleth^e, Ambirkeletus^k.
- 15 Eogan^e, Eoghan, Ewan, Ewen^b, Heatgan^d,
Eugenius VI.^{g, k}
- 16 Muircadach, Murdauch^e, Murechat^b, Mur-
dochus, Murthec^f, Murdahu, Mordacusⁱ,
Murdacus^{g, k}.
- 17 Eogan^e, Heoghan^d, Ewan^f, Ewen^b, Eug-
nius VII.
- 18 Aodh-fionn, Ed-albus^b, Heth-fin^d, Hed-
white^f, Eda^a-find^c-Ethafind^h, Etfinus^k.
- 19 Feargus, Fergus.
- 20 Sealbhach, Selvach, Selvac^b, Sealuanc^e, Sea-
luhanc^d, Sewald^f, Selwathius^g, Solwathius^k.
- 21 Eochoidh-anguibh, Eochal-annuine, Eochal-
venenosus^b, Heogheda-annuine^d, Eogad-an-
nuin^e, Echach, Ethacus^b, Eokal^f, Achajus^g.
- 22 Dunghal, Dunegal^b, Doughal^f, Dungallus^k.
- 23 Ailpin, Alpin.
- 24 Cionaodh, Cinacha^e, Kinadius^a, Kenaucht,
Kinedus^b, Kinath^d, Kenethus^g.
- 25 Domhnal, Dunevaldus^a, Domnail^e, Dolsnal^b,
Dovenald^d.
- 26 Constantin.
- 27 Aodh, Ed^d, Edus^a, Het^b, Eth, Ethus^k.

28 Gai-

- 28 Gairig, Girg^d, Giric^a, Greg^b, Gregorius^ε.
- 29 Domhnal, Dovenald, Doneval^b, Donevaldus^a,
Donaldus^k.
- 30 Constaintin.
- 31 Maelcoluim, Maelcolai^c, Malcolm^b, Milco-
lumbus^k.
- 32 Iondolbh, Indolf^b, Induff^d, Indulfus^k.
- 33 Dubhoda, Duf^b, Niger^a, Duffus^k.
- 34 Cuilin, Culin^b, Culenrig^a, Culenus^k.
- 35 Cionadh, Cinadius^a, Cinada^c, Kinadius, Ki-
net^b, Kenethus^k.
- 36 Constaintin.
- 37 Grim-Macdubh, Chineth^b, Girgh^d-mac-Kinath,
Greg, Grimus^ε.
- 38 Malcolium Milcolumbus.
- 39 Donnchadh, Donchath^a, Dunecan, Donucha-
da^c, Duncanusⁱ.
- 40 Macbeatha, Machetad, Macbethad, Mac-
beth^b, Machabæusⁱ.
- 41 Lulach^b, Lahoulan^c, Luthlathⁱ.
- 42 Malcoluim, Malcolmⁱ-cean-more, Malcolm^b,
Kenremore^c, Milcolumbus^k.

NUM. I.

NUM. I.

DE SITU ALBANIÆ QUÆ IN SE FIGURAM
HOMINIS HABET: QUOMODO FUIT PRI-
MITUS. IN SEPTEM REGIONIBUS (*sic*) DI-
VISA, QUIBUSQUE NOMINIBUS ANTIQUI-
TUS SIT VOCATA, ET A QUIBUS INHA-
BITATA. *Vide supra, p. 601.*

Ex MS. Bibliothecæ Colbertinæ, Cod. 3120.

I. OPERÆ pretium puto mandare memo-
riæ qualiter Albania, & a quibus habita-
toribus primitus habitata, quibus nominibus nun-
cupata & in quot partibus partita.

2. LEGIMUS in historiis & in chronicis anti-
quorum Britonum, & in gestis & annalibus antiquis
(a) Scottorum & Piſtorum, quod illa regio quæ
nunc corruptè vocatur Scotia (b), antiquitus appel-
labatur Albania ab Albanoſto juniore filio Bruti
primi regis Britannorum majoris Britannia. Et
post multum intervallum temporis a Piſtis Piſta-
via: qui regnaverunt in ea per circulum MLXX
annorum: secundum quosdam MCCCLX. Nunc

(a) Hinc patet extitisse annales Scottorum & Piſtorum qui anti-
qui cenſebantur etiam ſæculo XII.

(b) *Ran. Higden Polycbr. ex Giraldo, p. 185.*

vero corruptè vocatur Scocia. Scotti (a) vero regnaverunt per spaciū CCCXV annorum; anno illo quo Willelmus rex Rufus, frater Malcolmi viri honestæ vitæ & virtutis, regnum suscepit.

3. REGIO enim ista formam & figuram hominis in se habet. Pars namque principalis ejus, id est, caput est in *Arregathel* in occidentali parte Scociæ supra mare Hybernix: pedes vero ejus sunt supra mare *Norhwagix*: montes vero & deserta de *Arregathel* capiti & collo hominis assimilantur: corpus vero ipsius est mons qui *Mound* vocatur, qui a mari occidentali usque ad mare orientale extenditur: Brachia autem ejus sunt ipsi montes qui dividunt Scociam ab *Arregathel*. Latus dexteræ partis ex *Murref*, & *Ros*, & *Mar*, & *Buchan*: crura enim illius sunt illa duo principalia & præclara flumina (quæ descendunt de monte prædicto, i. e. *Mound*) quæ vocantur *Tae* & *Spe*: quorum unum fluit citra montem, alterum vero ultra in mare *Norwegale*. Inter crura hujus hominis sunt *Enegus* & *Moerne* citra montem, & ultra montem aliæ terræ inter *Spe* & montem.

4. HÆC vero terra a septem fratribus divisa fuit antiquitus in septem partes: quarum pars principalis est *Enegus* cum *Moerne* ab *Enegus* primogenito fratrum sic nominata: secunda autem pars est *Adtheodle* & *Gouerin*: pars etiam tertia est *Stra-*

(a) Polychr. ex Giraldo, p. 185.

deern cum *Meneted* : quarta pars partium est *Fife* cum *Fothbreue* : quinta vero pars est *Marr* cum *Buchen* : sexta autem est *Murref* & *Ros* : septima enim pars est *Cathanesia* citra montem & ultra montem : quia Mons *Mound* dividit *Cathanesiam* per medium.

5. QUÆLIBET ergo istarum partium regio tunc vocabatur & erat : quia unaquæque earum sub regionem in se habebat. Inde est ut hi septem fratres prædicti pro septem regibus habebantur : septem Regulos sub se habentes. Isti septem fratres regnum *Albaniae* in septem regna dividerunt, & unusquisque in tempore suo in suo regno regnavit (a).

6. PRIMUM regnum fuit (sicut mihi verus relator retulit, *Andreas*, videlicet, vir venerabilis *Katanensis* episcopus (b) natione *Scottus* & *Dunfermlis* (c) Monachus) ab illa aqua optima, quæ *Scotticè* vocata est *Froth*, *Britannicè* *Werid*, *Romanè* (d) vero *Scottie-wattre*, i. aqua *Scottorum*; quæ (e) regna *Scottorum* & *Anglorum* dividit & currit juxta oppidum de *Strivelin*, usque ad flumen aliud nobile, quod vocatum est *Tac*.

(a) *Cruithne* primus *Pictorum* rex in *Albania* filios septem habuit reges, juxta *Chron. Pictorum* infra num. 2.

(b) Hinc patet autorem hujus libelli non fuisse natione *Scottum*.

(c) Obiit *Andreas* Episcopus *Katanen.* A.D. 1185, juxta *Chron. Maytressen*.

(d) I. e. lingua vulgari.

(e) Hinc apparet autorem hujus libelli fuisse *Anglum*.

7. SECUNDUM regnum ad *Hilef*, sicut mare circuit, usque ad montem aquilonali plaga de *Strivelin* qui vocatur *Atbrin*.

TERTIUM regnum ab *Hilef* usque ad *De*.

QUARTUM regnum ex *De* usque ad magnum & mirabile flumen quod vocatur *Spe*, majorem (a) & meliorem totius *Scociæ*.

QUINTUM regnum de *Spe* usque ad montem *Bruinalban*.

SEXTUM regnum fuit *Muref* & *Ros*.

SEPTIMUM regnum fuit *Arregathel*.

8. (b) *ARREGATHEL* dicitur quasi margo Scottorum seu Hybernensium: quia omnes Hybernenses & Scotti generaliter *Gaitheli* dicuntur a quodam eorum primævo duce *Gaithelglas* vocato. Ibi enim semper Hybernenses applicare solebant ad dampna facienda Britannis. Vel idcirco quia Scotti (c) [*Piæti*] ibi habitabant primitus post reditum suum de Hybernia; vel quia Hibernenses illas partes occupavere super *Piætos*; vel quod certius est quod illa pars regionis *Scottiæ* affinitima est regioni *Hiberniæ*.

(a) Sic.

(b) Vid. *Rân. Cest. Polyc.* p. 209 ed. Gal.

(c) *Pæx* (*Piæti*) haud dubium hic redundat errore scribe.

9. FERGUS filius Eric ipse fuit primus qui de semine Chonare suscepit regnum Albanix, 1. A monte Brunalban usque ad mare Hibernix & ad Inchegall. Deinde reges de semine Fergus regnaverunt in Brunalban, sive Brunhere, usque ad Alpinum filium Eochal: Kined filius hujus Alpini primus Scottorum annis XVI. in Pictinia feliciter regnavit.

NUM. II

(a) NUM. II.

CRONICA DE ORIGINE ANTIQUORUM PICTORUM (b).

Ex eodem Cod. MS. Bibl. Colbertin. *V. Supra*, p. 105.

PICTI propria lingua nomen habent a picto corpore eo quod aculeis ferreis cum atramento variarum figurarum (c) Stigmatate (*sic*) annotantur. Scotti qui nunc corruptè vocantur Hibernienses, quasi Sciti quia a Scithia regione venerunt, & inde originem duxerunt, sive a Scotta filia Pharaonis regis Ægypti, quæ fuit, ut fertur, regina Scot. (d).

SCIENDUM est quod Britones in tertia mundi ætate ad Britanniam venerunt. Scitæ autem, 1.

(a) Quod spectat ad discrepantiam inter hoc vetus chronicon Pictorum & catalogos regum Pictorum (qui habentur apud scriptores Scotos) quas ad nomina, numerum, chronologiam, &c. vide quæ diximus, p. 124, &c. 129, &c. *supra*.

(b) Fragmentum hoc sive excerptum ex chronico Pictorum hic exhibemus quale extat in Cod. MS. nihil addito, dempto aut immutato præter titulos primæ & secundæ partis & numerales notas regum, quas majoris claritatis gratia, diverso charactere, adjecimus. Vid. *Supra*, p. 602.

(c) L. Stigmatate.

(d) L. Scotiz vel Scotorum.

D d d 3

Scotti

Scotti in quarta ætate Scociam sive Hiberniam obtinuerunt. Gentes Scitiæ albo crine nascuntur et assiduis nivibus: & ipsius capilli color genti nomen dedit; & inde dicuntur Albani: de quibus originem duxerunt Scotti & Picti. Horum glauci oculis, 1. picta inest pupilla, adeo ut nocte plusquam die cernant. Albani autem vicini Amazonibus fuerunt? Gothi a Magog filio Japheth nominati putantur de similitudine ultimæ syllabæ: quæ veteres Græci magis Gethas quam Gothos vocaverunt. Gens fortis & potentissima, corporum mole ardua, armorum genere terribilis. De quibus Lucanus,

Hinc Dacus premat, inde Gethis incurrat Hiberis.

(a) Daciam Gothorum soboles fuerunt & distos putant Dacos quasi Dagos, quia de Gothorum stirpe sunt: de quibus ille,

Ibis Arcos procul usque Dacos,

Scithæ & Gothi a Magog originem traxerunt (b). Scithia quoque & Gothia ab eodem Magog Japhet fertur cognominata; cujus terra olim ingens fuit: nam ab oriente in die (c) a septentrione per pa-

(a) L. Daci.

(b) *Isidor. Hispal.* p. 129.

(c) L. Indiz.

ludes Mæotides inter Danubium & oceanum usque ad Germaniæ fines porrigebatur. Postea minor effecta est a dextra orientis parte quæ oceanus Sciticus conditur (*sc*) usque ad mare Caspium quod est ad occasum: de hinc a meridie usque ad Caucasum jugum deducta est, cui subjacet Hircania ab occasu: habens pariter gentes multas propter infœcunditatem latè vagantes: ex quibus quædam agros incolunt, quidam (*sc*) portentuosæ ac truces, carnibus humanis & eorum sanguine vivunt.

SCITHIÆ plures terræ sunt locupletes, & inhabitabiles etiam plures. Nam quæ in plerisque locis auro & gemmis affluant, Græphorum similitudine accessus hominum rarus est. Smaragdis autem optimis hæc patria est. Cianeus quoque lapis & chrysellus purissimus Scithiæ est (*a*). Habet & flumina magna Oskorim, Fæsidem, & Araxem. Prima Europæ regio Scythiæ inferior quæ a Mæotidis paludibus incipiens inter Danubium & oceanum septentrionalem usque ad Germaniam porrigitur, quæ terra generaliter propter barbaras gentes quibus inhabitatur, Barbarica dicitur. Hujus pars prima Alania est quæ ad Mæotidas paludes pertingit. Post hanc Dacia, ubi & Gothia: deinde Germania: ubi plurimam partem Suevi incoluerunt. In partes Asiaticæ Scithiæ sunt gentes quæ posteros se Jafonis credunt (*b*): albo crine noscuntur ab assiduis nivibus. De his ista sufficiunt.

(*a*) *Isidor.* p. 121.

(*b*) *Ibid.* p. 74.

*Prima pars Chronici sive Catalogi
Regum Pictorum.*

- 1 CRUIDNE filius Cinge pater Pictorum habitantium in hac insula c. annis regnavit. Septem (a) filios habuit. Hæc sunt nomina eorum: Fib, Fidach, Floclaid, Fortreim, Got, Cecircum, Ciccui.
- 2 Circui lx annis regn.
- 3 Fidaich xl.
- 4 Forteim lxx.
- 5 Floclaid xxx.
- 6 Got xii.
- 7 Ce xv.
- 8 Fibaid xxiv.
- 9 Gedeolgudach lxxx.
- 10 Denbacan c.
- 11 Olfineſta lx.
- 12 Guididgaedbrecach l.
- 13 Geſtgurtich xl.
- 14 Wurgest xl.
- 15 Brude-bout, a quo xxx Brude regnaverunt Hyberniam (b) & Albaniam per cl. annorum ſpatium, xlviii an. regnavit. Id eſt, Brude-pant, Brude-urpant, Brude-leo, Brude-uleo, Brude-gant, Brude-urgant, Brude-guith,

(a) Vide n. 5. de ſitu Albanie, ſupra in append. n. 1 de diviſione Albanie in vii partes.

(b) Hinc apparet Pictorum aliquos in Hyberniam penetraviſſe & ibidem regnaſſe.

Brude-urguith, Brude-fecir, Brude-urfecir,
 Brude-cal, Brude-urcal, Brude-cuit, Brude-
 urcuit, Brade-fec, Brade-urfec, Brade-ru,
 Brude-cru, Brude-gart, Brude-urgart, Bru-
 de-cinit, Brude-urcinit, Brude-inp, Brude-
 urinp, Brude-grid, Brude-urgrid, Brude-
 mund, Brude-urmund.

- 16 Gilgidi ci an. regn.
- 17 Tharan c.
- 18 Morleo xv.
- 19 Deocilunon xl.
- 20 Cimoiod filius Arcois vii.
- 21 Deoord l.
- 22 Bliciblitirth v.
- 23 Deftoteric frater Diu xl.
- 24 Ufconbutts xxx.
- 25 Carvorft xl.
- 26 Deoartavois xx.
- 27 Uift l.
- 28 Ru c.
- 29 Gartnoithboc, a quo Garnait, iv regn.
- 30 Vere ix an. regn.
- 31 Breth filius Buthut vii.
- 32 Vipoignamet xxx an. regn.
- 33 Canutulachama iv an. regn.
- 34 Wradech vechla ii an. regn.
- 35 Garnaichdi uber lx. an. regn.
- 36 Talore filius Achivir lxxv an. regn.

Secunda

Secunda pars.

- 37 Druſt filius Erp c (a) an. regn. & c bella peregit xix anno regni ejus Patricius epifcopus ſanctus ad Hyberniam pervenit inſulam.
- 38 Talor filius Aniel iv an. regn.
- 39 Neſton Morbet filius Erp xxv an. regn. tertio (b) anno regni ejus Darlugdach Abbatiffa Cillæ Darade Hibernia exulat proxime ad Britanniam. Secundo anno adventus ſui immolavit Neſtonius Aburnethige Deo & ſanctæ Brigidæ præſente Dairlugtach, quæ cantavit Alleluja ſuper iſtam hoſtiam. Opulit igitur Neſtonius magnus filius Urup rex omnium provinciarum Pictorum Apurnethige ſanctæ Brigidæ uſque ad diem judicii cum ſuis finibus quæ poſitæ ſunt (*ſic*) a lapide in Apurfeirt uſque ad lapidem juxta Cairſuil, id eſt, Lethfoſs; & inde in altum uſque ad Athan. Cauſa autem oblacionis hæc eſt. Neſtonius in (c) uite iulie manens, fratre ſuo Druſto expulſante ſe uſque ad

(a) Regnavit ſeu rexit hic ponitur pro vixit: nam liber Poſſa-terſis tribuit illi tantum 48 annos regni. Vide ſupra, p. 136.

(b) Prolixior hæc narratio fundationis celebris eccleſiæ de Abir-nethy innuere videtur. Chronicon hoc breve extractum fuiſſe ex vetuſto aliquo chronico ab aluminis eccleſiæ illius veteris de Abir-nethy olim ſcripto.

(c) E. in exilio manens, fratre.

Hiberniam, Brigidam sanctam petivit, ut (a) postulasset Deum pro se. Orans autem pro illo, dixit (b). Si pervenies ad patriam tuam, Dominus miserebitur tui, regnum Pictorum in pace possidebis (c).

- 40 Drest Gurthinmoch xxx an. regn.
- 41 Galanau Etelich xii an. regn.
- 42 Dadrest i.
- 43 Drest filius Gyrom i. Drest filius Udrost v, an. conregnauerant. Drest filius Gyrom solus v an. regn.
- 44 Gartnach filius Gyrom vii an. regn.
- 45 Cealtraim filius Gyrom i an. regn.
- 46 Talorg filius Muircholaich xi an. regn.
- 47 Drest filius Munait i an. regn.
- 48 Galam cum Aleph i an. regn.
cum Briduo i an.
- 49 Brides (d) filius Mailcom xxx an. regn. In

(a) L. postularet sive oraret.

(b) Id est, certe pervenies.

(c) Ex Colgano de vitis SS. Hiberniæ patet Darlugdacham (de qua hic fit mentio) fuisse discipulam S. Brigidæ. Ceterum de antiqua hac ecclesia de Abirnetby hac habentur in libro Passet. desumpta, ut videtur ex chronico de Abirnetby. In illa ecclesia [de Abirnetby] fuerunt tres electiones factæ, quando non fuit nisi unus solus episcopus in Scotia. Tunc enim fuit ille locus principalis regalis & pontificalis per aliqua tempora totius regni Pictorum. (d) Hic ille est Brudeus rex, de quo Beda, lib. 3. cap. 4. De varietate seu discrepantia quæ reperitur in pronunciandis seu scribendis vetustis regum Pictorum & Scottorum nominibus. Vide quæ dicta sunt supra, p. 129, &c.

() viii (a) an. regni ejus baptizatus est a S. Columba.

- 50 Gartnaich filius Domelch xi an. regn.
- 51 Nechtu nepos Verb xx an. regn.
- 52 Cincoch filius Luthrin xi an. regn.
- 53 Garnard filius Wid. iv an. regn.
- 54 Bridei filius Wid. v an. regn.
- 55 Talore frater eorum xii an. regn.
- 56 Talorcon filius Enfret iv an. regn.
- 57 Gartnait filius Donnell. vi an. regn. & dimid.
- 58 Drest frater ejus vii an. regn.
- 59 Bredei filius Bili (b) xxi an. regn.
- 60 Taran filius Entifidich iv an. regn.
- 61 Bredei filius Dereli xi an. regn.
- 62 Nechtan filius Dereli (c) xv an. regn.
- 63 Drest & Alpin conregnauerunt v an.
- 64 Onnust (d) filius Urgust xxx an. regn.
- 65 Bredei filius Wirgust ii an. regn.
- 66 Ciniod (e) filius Wirdech xii an. regn.
- 67 Elpin filius Wroid iii an. & dimid.
- 68 Drest filius Talorgan iv vel v an. regn.
- 69 Talorgan filius Onnust ii an. cum dimidio.
- 70 Canaul filius Tarla v an. regn (f).

(a) *Deesse hic videtur literula seu num. 1. ut fiat viiil. errore scribæ.*

(b) *De hoc rege. V. supra, p. 111.*

(c) *V. p. 112, supra.*

(d) *V. p. 113, supra.*

(e) *V. p. 114, supra.*

(f) *Hi sunt septuaginta illi reges Piclorum usque ad Constantinum, de quibus supra, p. 102, &c.*

- 71 Castantin (a) fil. Wrguist xxx an. regn.
- 72 Unnuft fil. Wrguist xii an. regn.
- 73 Drest fil. Constantin & Talorgan fil. Wthoil iii
an. conregnauerunt.
- 74 Uuen filius Unnuft iii an. regn.
- 75 Wred fil. Bargoit iii an.
- 76 Bred uno anno regn.

. (a) L. Constantin.

N U M. III

NUM. III.

Excerpta ex veteri Chronico de regibus Scotorum a Kennetho Mac-Alpin ad Mac-Malcolm.

Ex MS. Codice Colbertino. *v. supra*, p. 603.

1. **K**INADIUS igitur filius Alpin primus Scottorum rexit feliciter istam annis XVI Piſtaviam. Piſtavia autem a Piſtis est nominata, quos, ut diximus Kinadius, delevit. Deus (a) enim eos pro merito suæ malitiæ alienos ac otiosos hæreditate dignatus est facere : quia illi non solum Deum, missam ac præceptum spreverunt, sed & in

(a) Ad ea quæ hic habentur de declinante apud Piſtos religionis zelo, tanquam præcipua excidii causa monarchia, spectare etiam videntur quæ de oppressa a Piſtis libertate ecclesiastica, continet epitaphium Gregorii regis ad calcem chronici Maytrossen & quæ de eodem rege habentur in Cod. MS. Bibl. Ceton. [Vicellius A. 24.] & iisdem verbis in extract. registri S. Andreae infra n. 5. Append. in reg. 28. his verbis. Hic [Gregorius R.] primus dedit libertatem ecclesia Scoticanæ, quæ sub servitute erat usque ad illud tempus ex consuetudine Piſtorum. Hi tamen abusus videntur invaluisse apud Piſtos sub postremis suntuat regibus, nam celebris erat pietas & devotio erga ecclesiam, regum Constantini & Hungi qui regnaverunt apud Piſtos incunte hoc sæculo nono, vel labente octavo.

jure

jure æquitatis aliis æqui pariter (a) noluerunt. Isti (b) vero biennio antequam veniret Piſtaviam Dalriætæ regnum ſuſcepit. Septimo anno (c) regni reliquias S. Columbæ transportavit ad eccleſiam quam conſtruxit: & invaſit ſexies Saxoniam (d) & concremavit Dunbarre atque Malros uſurpata (ſic); Britanni autem concremaverunt Dulblaan, atque Danari vaſtaverunt Piſtaviam ad Duanan (ſic) & Duncalden. Mortuus eſt tandem tumore an. (e) id. Febr. ſeria tertia in palacio (f) Forthuir-tabaicht.

2. DUNEVALDUS frater ejus tenuit idem regnum quatuor annis. In hujus tempora jura ac leges regni Edi (g) filii Ecdach fecerunt Gocdeli (h) cum rege ſuo in Fothur-thabaicht: obiit in palacio cum (i) Belachor, id. April.

(a) F. æqui parari voluerunt.

(b) L. iſte.

(c) *Servabantur ergo hætenus reliquæ S. Columbæ in Scotia; ſecus ac narrant Hyberni aliqui ſcriptores.*

(d) V. Ranulph. Higd. Polychron. p. 210. ubi ait. [Kenethus] Sexies Saxoniam debellavit, &c.

(e) F. tumore ani.

(f) i. e. Forteviot. Regia Piſtorum, deinde Scotorum.

(g) *Id eſt, Regis Ædi-albi ſive Æth-fin filii Eſchah ſive Ecdach-rinneval qui regnare capit circa A. D. 730. De hiſce vero juribus & regni legibus altiffimum apud ſcriptores noſtros ſilentium. Exitiſſe autem aliquando & celeberrima fuiſſe cum a vicinis hoc Hyberniam ſcriptore memorentur, haud dubitari poteſt. Perierunt tamen cum reliquis antiquis regni monumentis.*

(h) i. e. Scoti.

(i) F. ſuo Belachor. de quo fit mentio apud ſcriptorem vitæ S. Cadroes. Scoti.

3. CON:

3. CONSTANTINUS fil. Kinadi regnavit annis XVI. Primo ejus anno (a) Mael Sechnaill rex Hybernensium obiit & Aed (b) fil. Niel tenuit regnum: & post duos annos vastavit (c) Amlaib cum gentibus suis Pictaviam & habitantes eam a kal. Januar. usque ad festum S. Patricii. Tertio iterum anno Amlaib trahens cœtum (d) (sic) a Constantino occisus est paulo post ab eo bello in XIV ejus factio in Dolair inter Danarios & Scottos: occisi Scotti in Coach-cochlum (sic): Normanni annum integrum degerunt in Pictavia.

4. EDUS tenuit idem uno anno. Ejus autem brevis nil historiæ memoriæ commendavit: sed in civitate nrurin (e) est occisus.

5. (f) ECHODIUS autem filius Ku (sic) regis Britannorum nepos Kinadi ac fil. regn. an XI.
Licet

(a) Mael-seacluin rex Hybernix, Obiit A. D. 863. successit ei.

(b) Aodh-finliath fil. Niel.

(c) Hic est ille Anlaphus Danas de quo in scriptoribus Scotix, Angliæ & Hybernix.

(d) F. cœtum, i. e. exercitum.

(e) F. Inruri.

(f) Quæ hic habentur de successore regis Edi sive Æthi obscuræ admodum sunt & apud Scotos omnino inaudita: nusquam enim mentio hujus Echodii: & tam vetustorum excerpta annalium nostrorum, quam catalogi veteres & omnes nostri scriptores unanimi sententia referunt Gregorum immediate Ætho regi successisse & cele-

Licet *Giricium* (a) fil. alii dicunt hic regnasse eo quod alumpnus, ordinatorque Eochodio fiebat. Cujus secundo anno Aed fil. Niel moritur, ac in nono anno ipso die cirici eclipsis solis facta est. Eochodius cum alumno suo expulsus est nunc de regno.

6. DONEVALDUS fil. Constantini tenuit regnum XI annis. Normanni tunc (b) vastaverun *Pictaviam* in hujus regno bellum fuit (c) *inuisib collan* (sic) inter Danarios & Scottos. Scotti habuerunt victoriam opidum (d) Fother occisum est a gentibus (sic).

7. CONSTANTINUS fil. Edii tenuit regnum XL annis: cujus tertio anno Normanni prædaverunt Duncalden omnemque Albaniam: in sequenti utique anno Constantinus rex & (e) Kellachus episcopus leges, disciplinasque fidei, atque jura ecclesiarum, evangeliorumque pariter cum Scottis in

Et celebrem fuisse ob victorias reportatas in Anglia, sed præcipue in Hybernia. An hanc ob causam scriptor hic rebus a Gregorio præclarè gestis, obscura hac & incondita narratione, detrudere voluerit, alii judicent. Videatur interea epitaphium ipsius ad calcem chronici Maytrossensis cum reliquis regum epitaphiis, editum, & quæ de eo narrantur in excerptis ex registro S. Andrea, infra num. 5.

(a) F. Giric. Girgh. i. e. Grigor.

(b) t. MS.

(c) F. in urbe Cullen.

(d) L. Forres occisus est.

(e) Kellach Episcopus S. Andrea. Vide quæ diximus supra, p. 588, de concilio Scotico sub hoc rege Constantino & Kellacho episcopo.

E e e

colle

colle credulitatis prope regali civitate Scoon devorunt (a) custoditur. Ab hoc die collis hoc (nomen) meruit, i. e. collis credulitatis. Et in suo VIII anno cecidit excellissimus rex Hybernensium & archiepiscopus apud Lagnechois, 1. Cormac (b) filius Culenani: & mortui sunt in tempore hujus Dovenaldus rex Britannorum & Dovenaldus filius Ede rex (c) elig. & Flanni filius Mael Sethnail & Nail (d) fil. Ede qui regnavit 3 annos post Flann. &c. Bellum Tinemore factum est in xviii anno inter Constantinum & Regnall & Scotti habuerunt victoriam: & bellum (e) Dumbrunde in xxxiv ejus anno; ubi cecidit filius Constantini; & post unum annum mortuus est Dubican fil. Indrechtaig Mormair Oengusa. Adelstan fil. (f) Aduarrig. Saxan & Eochod fil. Alpin mortui sunt. Et in senectute decrepita baculum cepit [R. Constantin] & domino servivit, & regnum mandavit Mael filio Donmail.

8. MALCOLM fil. Donnail xi. an. regn. Cum exercitu suo Maelcolam perexit in Moreb (g) & occidit Celach. in vii anno regni sui prædavit Anglos ad annem Thesis & multitudinem rapuit ho-

(a) L. custodiri.

(b) *Auſt. r Pfaltorii Caſſilienſis habetur Cormacus iſſe.*

(c) F. eligitur.

(d) *Lege Nial, vel Niell. R. Hyb.*

(e) *alias Brunenburg, Brunford & Brunynſeld.*

(f) L. Edward, vel Eadward.

(g) L. Moravia.

minum, & multa armenta pecorum quam prædam vocaverunt Scotti prædam Albudorum (*f**c*) i. e. Nauuidisi. Alii autem dicunt Constantinum fecisse hanc prædam querens a rege, i. Maelcolam regnum dari sibi ad tempus hebdomadis ut visitaret Anglos. (*a*) Un tn non Maelcolam fecit hanc prædam, sed instigavit cum Constantinus, ut dixi. Mortuus autem Constantinus in X. anno ejus sub corona penitenti in senectute bona. Et occiderunt viri na Moerne Malcolaim in Fodresach. i. in Claideom (*f**c*).

9. INDULFUS tenuit regnum octo annis. In hujus tempore oppidum Edén vacuatum est ac relictum est Scottis usque in hodiernum diem (*b*). Classi (*c*) Sumerlidiorum occisi sunt in Buchan.

10. (*d*) Niger fil. Maelcolam regn. quinque annis. (*e*) Fothach episcopus pausavit: inter (*f*) iger caniculum (*g*) fr (*b*) dorsum crup (*f**c*) in quo niger habuit victoriam, ubi cecidit Duchad Abbas Dulcalden, & Dubdou Satrapas Athochlach Expulsus niger de regno & tenuit caniculus brevi tempore. Domnall fil. Canill mortuus est.

(*a*) L. verumtamen.

(*b*) Vide pag. 634, supra.

(*c*) F. Danorum.

(*d*) i. e. Duff, sive Duffus R.

(*e*) Fothach Episcopus S. Andreæ.

(*f*) L. Nigerrum, i. e. Duffus.

(*g*) F. Culen.

(*b*) L. super.

E e e 2

II. CULEN.

11. CULEN-RIG quinque annis regn. Marcan fil. Breodalaig occisus est in ecclesia S. Michaelis. Leot & Sluagadach exierunt ad Romam. Maelbrigd (a) episcopus pausavit. Cellach (b) fil. Ferdulaig (c) regnavit. Maelbridge fil. Dubican obiit. Culen & frater ejus Eochodius occisi sunt a Britonibus.

12 CINADIUS fil. Maelcolami regn. an. Statim prædavit Britanniam ex parte pedestres Cinadi occisi sunt maxima cæde in moni uacornax (sic) & ad Staugna (d) de rain. Cinadius autem vallavit ripas vadorum Forthin. Primo anno perexit Cinadius & prædavit Saxoniam & traduxit filium regis Saxonum. Hic est qui tribuit magnam civitatem Brechne domino.

(a) Episcopus S. Andreæ, dictus & Malisiur.

(b) Episcopus S. Andreæ successor Milisii sive Malbrigid.

(c) i. e. rexit seu gubernavit.

(d) L. Stagna.

N. U. M. IV.

NUM. IV.

CCCXIV.

CRONICA REGUM SCOTTORUM
ANNORUM.

Ex cod. MS. Colbertino. vide p. 605, *supra*.

- 1 **F**ERGUS filius Eric fuit primus qui de
semine Chonare suscepit regnum Alba-
nix i. e. a monte Drumalban usque ad mare
Hiberniæ & ad Inche-Gall. Iste regnavit
iii annis.
- 2 Domangart fil. ejus v an.
- 3 Congel fil. Domangrat xxxii (a).
- 4 Goueran frater Congel xxii. an.
- 5 Conal fil. Congel xiv an.
- 6 Edan fil. Goueran xxxiv an.
- 7 Eeohod flavus (b) fil. Edan xvi an.
- 8 Kinat Sinister (c) fil. Conal tribus mensibus.
- 9 Ferear fil. Eu (d) xvi an.
- 10 Dovenald varius (e) fil. Eeohid xiv an.
- 11 (f).

(a) In plerisque aliis catalogis 22 aut 24. anni tribuntur
regno Congalk, cui hic dantur 33. errore, ut videtur, scribe.

(b) Hic vocatur lingua mentana sive Galica Eeoha-buylbe,
Eeoha-flavus.

(c) Hic patrio sermone vocatur Connadh-ceann, i. e. Sinif.

(d) F. Ewen ut in Catal. S. Andr.

(e) Lingua propria vocatur Domnal Breach, i. e. varius.

(f) Hic deest nomen Malduini Regis XI. *esitantia scriba*
12 R

Ecc 3

- 12 Fergar longus (a) xxi.
- 13 Eochol habens (b) curvum nasum filius Douc-
garth filii Dovenal varii, tribus an.
- 14 Arinchellac (c) fil. Ferchar longi uno anno.
- 15 Ewen (d) fil. Ferchar longi xiii an.
- 16 Murechat (e) fil. Arinchellac tribus annis.
- 17 Ewen fil. Murcerdach tribus an.
- 18 Edalbus (f) fil. Eochal curvi nasi xxx.
- 19 Fergus fil. Edalbi tribus.
- 20 Selvac fil. Eogan xxiv.
- 21 Eochal (g) venenosus fil. Edalbi xxx.
- 22 Dunegal fil. Selvach vii.
- 23 Alpin fil. Eochal venenosi tribus.
- 24 Kinedus fil. Alpini primus rex Scottorum xvi.
- 25 Dolsnal (h) fil. Alpini iv.
- 26 Constantinus fil. Kinet xx.
- 27 Het fil. Kinet uno an.
- 28 Grig. fil. Dungal xii.
- 29 Doneval fil. Constantin. xi.
- 30 Constantin. fil. Hed xxv.
- 31 Malcolm fil. Doneval ix.
- 32 Indolf fil. Constantin. ix.

(a) *Lingua propria* Ferchar-fada, i. e. longus.

(b) *Lingua veteri propria* Eochoid-rinneval.

(c) *Alias* Arinkelleth.

(d) Eogan & Heatgan.

(e) *Alias* Murdoch.

(f) *Alias* Eth-fn, i. e. Eth-albus.

(g) Eochal *alias* Eoka, Eokal, Achajus nominatur. r. no-
mina rezum supra.

(h) Dolsnal five Dovenald.

- 33 Duf fil. Malcolm iv an. & vi mens.
 34 Culen fil. Indulf iv an. & vi mens.
 35 Kinet fil. Malcolm xxii an. & ii mens.
 36 Constantia. fil. Culen uno an. & iv mens.
 37 Chinet fil. Duf uno an. & dimid.
 38 Malcolm fil. Kinet xxx. Hic magnum bellum
 fecit apud Carrum. Ipse etiam multas obla-
 tiones tam ecclesiis quam clero ea die di-
 stribuit.
 39 (a) Macbeth fil. Findleg xvii an.
 40 Lulach nepos filii Boide iv mens. & dimid.
 41 Malcolm fil. Duncan xxxvii an. & dimid. & iv
 42 mens.

Hic fuit vir Margaritæ reginæ: filiæ nobilissi-
 mæ Mathildis & Maria, sui generis celsitudinem
 conjugio, morum ingenuitate, scientiæ magnitu-
 dine, rerum temporalium larga in pauperes dispen-
 satione decenter ornaverunt.

MATHILDIS enim matrimonio juncta fuit Hen-
 rico Anglorum regi strenuissimo, qui de Franco-
 rum excellenti. regum prosapia duxit originem:
 quorum sublimitas (b) prædicti, scilicet, regis &
 reginæ ad hoc usque perducta est ut ipsorum so-
 boles Romani imperii tenuerunt dignitatem. Eo-

(a) *Prætermissum est errore scribæ nomen* · Duncani regis 39
 filii Beatricis filiæ Malcolmi-mac Kineth.

(b) L. Sublimitas.

rum namque filia M. Prudencia, forma, divitiis digna imperio, imperatori nupsit Romano.

MARIA vero lege conjugii Eustachio comiti Boloniensi tradita; regina sorore non minor extitit probitate, licet reginæ caruerit potestate. Hujus ipsidem filia strenuum virum comitem Stephanum sponsum accepit de regali simul & consulari stirpe progenitam. Omitto filias adhuc viventes matres defunctas exemplo propono viventibus, quæ cum sæculi pompa quod raro invenitur, divites sanctis extitere virtutibus, pauperes utriusque sexûs, cujusque condicionis essent, ac si membra coluerunt Christi; religiosos clericos, monachos, sincero amore velud (*sic*) patronos, & suos futuros judices cum Christo dilexerunt.

MATHILDIS regina Kal. Maij migravit de hac vita. A^o ab Incarnatione Domini M.C.XVIII. sepultaque est honorificè in ecclesia B. Petri Apostolorum principis Westmonasterii juxta Londopiam Anglorum urbem nobilissimam.

MARIA autem comitissa 2^o. Kal. Junii Anno ab Incarnatione M.C.XVI. apud Bermundsciam, ex altera parte præfatæ urbis monasterio S. Salvatoris in pace quievit; ubi a Domino Petreio admirandæ sanctitatis viro tunc priore ejusdem loci (a) Cluniacensis scilicet ad charitatem speciali-

(a) L. Cluniacensis.

ter pertinentis, gloriosè sepulta est. Tumulus vero marmoreus regum & reginarum ymagine habens impressas genus quiescentis demonstrat. In superficie ejusd. tumuli titulus aureis literis sculptus nomen & vitam & originem breviter ita comprehendit.

Nobilis hic tumultata jacet comitissa Maria

Astibus hæc nituit, larga, benigna fuit.

Regum sanguis erat, morum probitate vigeat.

Compatiens inopi, vivat in arce poli.

EDMUNDUS vero frater earum vir strenuissimus, & in Dei servicio, dum vitam ageret præsentem, valde devotus apud montem Acuti in quadam videlicet cella, quæ ibi sita (est), requiescit humatus.

43 Dolsnal (a) frater ejus (Malcolmi R.) regnavit an. tribus & vii mensibus.

44 Dunchad fil. Malcolmi dimid. anni.

45 Edgarus fil. Malcolmi ix an.

46 Alexander frater ejus xvii an. & 3 mens.

47 David frater ejus xxx. Erat autem rex David vid. vir piissimus in religione catholicus, in principibus munificus, in (b) recuperandis basilicis studiosus, satis vigil, & orationibus in tantum studens ut plus supplicationibus ad

(a) L. Dolsnal sive Dovenald.

(b) F. reparandis.

Deum

Deum profusis quam armis bellicis victoriam de inimicis optineret.

REX vero piissimus David multa bona fecit; præcipuè tamen ædes sacras ubicunque in toto regno uestate (a) collapsas consecrat (b): pontificibus & patribus, ad quorum curam pertinebant, ut restaurarentur imperavit: adhibens curam per legatos ut imperata perficerentur. Unde sub ejus imperio multa sunt reparata, immò funditùs ædificata monasteria. Sed hæc (c) præcipuè monasterium puellare, & M. Puellare S. N. & multa alia puellaria & cætera plurima utriusque videlicet sexûs virorum & mulierum, quibus veluti quibusdam lychnis totum decoratur Scociæ regnum: quæ omnia piissimus David rex magnis auri & argenti ponderibus, gemmarumque pretiosarum muneribus, amplissimis etiam honoribus (d) dicau; & insuper, quod preciosius est, sanctissimis reliquiarum patrociniis insigniuit.

HAS omnes idem rex potens & piissimus honorabiliter multis excolebat muneribus: sed Melrossensem præcipuè inter omnes ecclesias & fideliter defensabat & dulciter diligebat, & suis opibus exornabat. Cæterum omnia ejus gesta, quæ vulgo

(a) F. vetustate.

(b) L. construxerat.

(c) Hocce.

(d) F. ditavit vel dicavit.

narrantur, non sunt hic propter vitandum fastidium legentis pleniter explanata.

48 Malcolm filius (a) filii David xii an. vi mens-
& xiii diebus.

49 Willelmus frater ejus.

Ab anno (b) 1°. Williclmi, regum Scottorum
anni cccxv (c).

WILLELMUS rex Rufus filius Henrici, filii
Malcolai filii Donuchada, qui fuit nepos Malco-
lai, f. Cinada, f. Maelcolai, f. Domnail, f. Con-
stantin, f. (d) Ernacha, f. Alpin, f. Echach, f. Eda-
find, f. Echadach, f. Echach, f. Domongrat, f.
Domnail-bric, f. Echach-buide, f. Edan, f. Ga-
bran, f. Domangrat, f. Fergus, f. Eirc, f. E-
chach-miraremuir, f. Oengus-saphir, f. Fedelinthe-
aiflingig, f. Oengusa-buiding, f. Fedelinthe-ram-
naich, f. Seanchormaic, f. Cruith-linde, f. Find-
sece, f. Achircir, f. Achach-antoir, f. Fiachrach-
cathmail, f. Ecdach-riade, f. Conare, f. Mogalande,
f. (e) Luigdig, f. Ellatig, f. Corpre-crupchini,
f. Dare-dornmoir, f. (f) Corbre-fadmoir, f. Co-

(a) *Supple* Henrici.

(b) *I.e.* A.D. MCLXV.

(c) Scilicet ab unione regnorum Pi&. & Scot. circa A. D.
850.

(d) L. Cinacha.

(e) Luigdig Ellatig.

(f) Corbre Findmore

nare-

nare-moir, f. Eterfceil, f. Eogam, f. Elela, f. Jair, f. Dedaid, f. Sin, f. Rosin, f. Their, f. Rothir, f. Roin, f. Arandil, f. Maine, f. (a) Forgo, f. (b) Ferra-daig, f. Elela-aramni, f. (c) Fachra, f. Firmara, f. Oengus-turmig, f. Firce-chairoid, f. Ferroid, f. Fir-anroid, f. Firatbrig, f. Labchore, f. Echachalt-Ietchin, f. Elela-cassiacleg, f. Conliach, f. Erero, f. Moalgi, f. Coabtaig-coelbreg, f. Ugane-more, f. Eedaigluadaig, f. Duachlograich, f. Fiachraig-dualdach, f. Duachlograich, f. Fiachraig-tollgraich, f. Muredaich-bollgreich, f. (d) Simon, f. Brist (e).

(a) *Hic ille est qui a Forduno dictus Fergusius, conditor regni Scotorum in Britannia constitutus est.*

(b) *Hic a Forduno & sequacibus dictus est Ferchardus sive Ferquardus.*

(c) *Fiachra-Firmara.*

(d) *Simon Bric, &c.*

(e) *Vide reliqua hujus genealogiae nomina apud Radulfum de Diceto inter scriptores Angliae, apud Joan. Fordun & alibi pre-greditur series genealogica, horum temporum more, usque ad Noe.*

NUM. V.

NUM. V.

Ex Registro Prioratus S. Andrea, (a) a folio 46, ad fol. 49. (b)

NOMINA REGUM SCOTTORUM ET
PICTORUM.

Series Regum Scottorum. fol. 46.

Summa Regum xxiii. annorum cccxxvii. & 3 mens. (c)

1 **F**ERGUS filius Erth primus in Scotia
regnavit tribus annis ultra Drumalban
usque Sluagh (d) muner & usque ad In-
chegal.

2 Dovenghart fil. Fergus quinque ann. regnavit.

3 Congal fil. Dovenghart 24 an. regn.

4 Gauran fil. Dovenghart 22 an. regn.

5 Conal fil. Congal 14 an. regn.

6 Edhan fil. Gauran 34 an. regn.

7 Hcoghedbude 16. an.

(a) De excerptis hujus registri. V. *Supra*, pag. 606.

(b) Hac foliorum registri tam accurata notatio, quæ & ser-
vatur in aliis hujus Registri excerptis a V. Cl. D. Sybaldo ad me
transmissis, probat primum exscriptorem hujusmodi excerptorum ip-
sum authenticum registrum ob oculos habuisse: etsi ab aliquot an-
nis ipsum autographum, nescio quo casu, disparuerit.

(c) In hoc numero cccxvii annorum xxiii regum ab initio Fer-
gusii ad exitum Alpini manifestus est error sive scriba, sive codicis
ipsius; quemadmodum & sæpius alias erratum est in notis nu-
meralibus annorum regni h:rum regum.

(d) I. Sluagh more.

8 Kinath

- 8 Kinathkerr fil. Conal 3 mens.
- 9 Ferchar fil. Ewin 16 an.
- 10 Dovenald Brec fil. Heoghedbude 14 an.
- 11 Malduin fil. Dovenald Durn 16 an.
- 12 Ferchar-foda 21 an.
- 13 Heoghed Rinnavel fil. Dovenghart filii Dovenald Brec. 3 an.
- 14 Armkelleth fil. Findan. 1 an.
- 15 Heatgan fil. Findan 16 an.
- 16 Murdochus fil. Armkelleth 3 an.
- 17 Heoghan-fil. Murdach 3 an.
- 18 Hethfin fil. Heoghed Rinnevale 30 an.
- 19 Fergus fil. Hethfin 3 an.
- 20 Sealuhanc fil. Eogagan 24 an.
- 21 Heoghed annuine fil. Hethfin 30 an.
- 22 Dungal fil. Heoghed annuine 7 an.
- 23 Alpin fil. Heoghed annuine. 3 an. Hic occisus est in Gallewathia, postquam eam penitus destruxit & devastavit. Et hinc translatum est regnum Scotorum in regnum Pictorum.

Nomina regum Pictorum. (a)

- 1 **C**RUTH EUS fil. Kinne clemens judex accepit monarchiam in regno Pictorum, & regnavit 50 annis.
- 2 Gede 101 an. regnavit.

(a) De discrepantia hujus catalogi a cronica Pictorum tam in nominibus quam in numero regum. Vide quæ dicta sunt supra, pag. 124, 125, &c.

- 3 *Tbaran* 100 an. regn.
- 4 *Duchil* 40 an. regn.
- 5 *Duordeghel* 20 an. regn.
- 6 *Deoothereth* 60 an. regn.
- 7 *Combust* 20 an. regn.
- 8 *Caranathbrecht* 40 an. regn.
- 9 *Gernath-bolg.* 9 an. regn.
- 10 *Umpopnenet* 30 an. regn.
- 11 *Fiachua albus* 30 an. regn.
- 12 *Canatulmel* 6 an. regn.
- 13 *Dinornacht Netalec* 1 anno
- 14 *Feodak Finleg* 2 an.
- 15 *Garnat-dives* 60 an.
- 16 *Talarg fil. Keother* 25 an.
- 17 *Druft fil. Urb.* 100 ann. rexit (b) & 100 bella
pereggit
- 18 *Talarg fil. Amil* 2 an.
- 19 *Neihan Thelcamot* 10 an.
- 20 *Druft Gormot* 30 an.
- 21 *Galam* 15 an.
- 22 *Druft fil. Gigurum* 5 an.
- 23 *Druft fil. Hydroffig* 8 an.
- 24 *Ganut fil. Gigurum* 6 an.
- 25 *Kelturan frater ejus* 6 an.
- 26 *Golerg fil. Mordeleg.* 12 an.
- 27 *Druft fil. Moneth* 1 anno
- 28 *Tagalad* 4 an.

(b) Exemplar Jacobi Gray ex iisd. S. Andreæ monumentis,
ut apparet, descriptum, habet 100 ann. *vixit*, non autem *rexit*.
De hoc v. notam p. 136. supra.

- 29 Brude fil. Melchon 30 an. Hunc ad fidem convertit S. Columba
- 30 Garnat fil. Domnach 20 an.
- 31 Nethan fil. Ub. 21 an. Hic edificavit Abernethyn.
- 32 Kinel fil. Luthren 14 an.
- 33 Neftan fil. Fottle 5 an.
- 34 Brude fil. Fathe 5 an.
- 35 Telarg fil. Fetobar 11 an.
- 36 Talargan fil. Amfrude 5 an.
- 37 Garnat fil. Dönnal 5 an.
- 38 Drust frater ejus 6 an.
- 39 Brude fil. Bile 21 an. Hujus tempore floruit S. Adamnanus
- 40 Taram fil. Amsredech 14 an.
- 41 Brude fil. Derili 31 an.
- 42 Neftan frater ejus 18 an.
- 43 Garnath fil. Ferath 24 an.
- 44 Oengusa fil. Fergus 16 an.
- 45 Nethan fil. Derili 9 mens.
- 46 Alpin fil. Feret 6 mens.
- 47 Oengusa fil. Brude 6 mens. Idem iterum 36 annis.
- 48 Brude fil. Tenegus 8 an.
- 49 Drust fil. Talargan 1 an.
- 50 Talargan fil. Drustan 4 an.
- 51 Talargan fil. Tenegus 5 an.
- 52 Conftantin fil. Fergus 42 an. Hic edificavit Dunkelden
- 53 Hungus fil. Fergus 10 an. Hic edificavit Kilrymont

- 54 *Dustalorg* 4 an.
- 55 *Eoganan fil. Hungus* 3 an.
- 56 *Ferat fil. Batot* 3 an.
- 57 *Brude fil. Ferat* 1 mens.
- 58 *Kinat fil. Ferat* 1 mens.
- 59 *Brude fil. Fotel* 2 an.
- 60 *Druft fil. Ferat* 3 an. *Hic occisus est apud Forteviot; secundum alios, apud Sconam.*

- 24 (a) *Kinath Mac-Alpin* 16 an. Super Scotos regnavit, destruxit Pictis; mortuus in Fortevioth; sepultus in Yona insula, ubi tres filii Erc, scilicet Fergus, Loarn & Enegus sepulti fuerant. Hic mira calliditate duxit Scotos de Argadia in terram Pictorum.
- 25 *Dovenald Mac-Alpin* 4 an. mortuus in Raith in Veramont, sepultus in Yona insula.
- 26 *Constantin Mac-Kinath* 16 an. Interfectus est a Norwigenfibus in bello in Merdo (b) fatha, sepultus in Iona insula.
- 27 *Ed Mac-Kinet* uno anno. Interfectus in bello in Strathalin a Girg filio Dungal. sep. in Iona.
- 28 *Girg Mac-Dungal* 12 an. Mortuus est in Dundurn, & sepultus in Iona. Hic subjugavit sibi Hyberniam totam & fere Angliam. Et hic primus dedit libertatem ecclesie Scoti-

(a) *Habetur in veteri codice Bibl. Cotton. [Vitellius A. 20] exemplar ejus chronici regum Scotorum a Kentish & deinceps.*
 (b) *Werdo fatha. MS. Cotton.*

- canæ, quæ sub servitute erat usque ad illud tempus ex (a) constitutione & more Pictorum.
- 29 Dovenal Mac-Constantin 11 an. Mortuus est in Fores, & sepultus in Iona.
- 30 Constantin Mac-Edha 40 an. Hic dimisso regno sponte Deo in habitu religionis abbas factus Keledcorum S. Andreæ 5 ann. (b) & ibi mortuus est & sepultus.
- 31 Malcom Mac-Dovenald 9 an. interfectus in Ulurn a Moravienfib. (c) sep. in Iona.
- 32 Induff Mac-Constantin 9 an. interfectus a Norwagensib. in Inverculan sep. in Iona.
- 33 Duff Mac-Malcolm 4 ann. & 6 mens. Interfectus in Fores & absconditus sub ponte de Kinlos; & sol non apparuit quamdiu ibi latuit (d). Sepultus in Iona.
- 34 Culin Mac-Induff 4 an. & 6 mens. Interfectus ab Andarch filio Dovenald propter filiam suam in Laudonia.
- 35 Kinath Mac-Malcolm 24 an. & 2 mens. Interfectus in Fotherkern a suis per perfidiam Finellæ filiæ Cunechat comitis de Angus; cujus Finelle filium unicum prædictus Kinath interfecit apud Dunfinoen.
- 36 Constantin Mac-Culin 1 an. & 6 mens. Interfectus a Kinat filio Malcolm I. in Rathve-ramoen, & sepultus in Iona.

(a) *Consuetudine* MS. Cot.

(b) *Servivit.* MS. Cot.

(c) *Per dolum.* Cot.

(d) *Et inventus est* & Cot.

- 37 Girgh Mac-Kinat-Mac-Duff 8 an. Interfectus a filio Kinet in Moeghanard, sep. in Iona inf.
- 38 Malcolm Mac-Kinath rex victoriosissimus 30 an. Mortuus in Glamis, & sep. in Iona infula.
- 39 Donchath (a) Mac-Trini abbatis de Dunkeld & Bethoc filie Malcom-Mac-Kinat 6 an. Interfectus a Macbeth-Mac-Finleg in Bothgouanan & sep. in Iona.
- 40 Macbeth-Mac-Finleg 17 an. Interfectus in Lunfanan a Malcolm-Mac-Donchat & sepultus in Iona.
- 41 Lulach fatuus 4 mens. Interfectus est in Essai in Strathbolgi, & sep. in Iona.
- 42 Malcolm Mac-Donchat 37 an. & 8 mens. Interfectus in Inneraldan, (b) sep. in Iona. Hic fuit vir S. Margarete.
- 43 Donald Mac-Donchat prius regnavit 6 mens. & postea expulsus est, &
- 44 Donekan Mac-Malcolm regnavit 6 mens. hoc interfecto a Malpeder Macloen comite de Moerns in Monachedin: rursus Donald Mac-Donchat regnavit 3 annis. Hic captus est ab Edgar Mac-Malcolm, caecatus est & mortuus in Roscolpin, sepultus in Dunkelden, hinc translata ossa in Iona.
- 45 Edgar 9 an. Mortuus in Dunedin, & sepultus in Dunfermling.

(a) *Mac trivi. C.*

(b) *juxta Alnwick. C.*

- 46 Alexander 17 an. & 3 mens. & dimidio. Mortuus in Crasleti, sep. in Dunfermling
- 47 David 29 an. & 3 mens. Mortuus in Carleol, sep. in Dunfermling.
- 48 Malcolm fil. Henrici filii David 12 an. & 6 mens. & 20 dieb. Mortuus apud Jedword sep. in Dunfermling.
- 49 Willelmus 52 an. Mortuus in Strivelin, sep. in Aberbrothok, cui successit
- 50 Alexander fil. Will. 34 an. & 8 mens. Obiit a^o 1249 in expeditione in quadam insula Erregethal, & sep. apud Melross. cui successit
- 51 Alexander filius puer septem annor. coronatus apud Sconam 3 id. Julii a Davide Epo S. Andreæ 1251. Hic rex perexit in Angliam & honorificè susceptus est a rege Angliæ, apud Eboracum factus est miles: & crastino die desponsavit regis filiam. Nescio quo infortuito Zabulo seminante discordiam inter magnates terræ hujus, cancellarius & justiciarius Scotiæ apud regem Angliæ accusati, ab officiis deprivati, & alii eorum loco substituti.

NUM. VI.

BREVE CHRONICON SCOTICUM SIVE CHRO-
NICON RYTHMICUM (a).

Ad calcem Scoti-chronici MS. Collegii Scriptorum Parisien. (b).

Prologus.

CUM hujus præcedentis voluminis prolixitas, hominum quoque memorie labilitas, & incerti temporis brevitās, non sinunt universa quæ inibi scripta sunt animo scire multa cupientis, similiterque semel (c) comprehendere; ideo mihi visum est pro ingenioli mei capacitāte quædam inde extrahere; & in unius corpus codicilli quodam compendio, (d) scripto veteri metrico, & novo ad propositum respondente, quasi sub quodam epilogo

(a) De hoc Chronico Rythmico vide quæ dicta sunt supra, p. 608, &c. p. 677.

(b) In hoc codice Parisiensi extat genuinum & minimè interpolatum. Habetur etiam hoc idem Chronicon sive in initio sive ad calcem Scotichronicorum MSS. Paſſat. in biblioth. Regia Londin. Collegii Edinburgen. Panmuren. Carsusen. in bibl. Jurid. Edinb. Cuprenſi & aliis: sed in plerisque cum multis interpolationibus & additionibus, quarum aliquas infra notabimus: sicut & varias leſiones alicujus momenti.

(c) L. Simul & semel, rectius, juxta cod. Paſſ.

(d) Partim ex metris veteribus, partim ex recentibus ad propositum facientibus. Cod. Paſſat.

summatim redigere, præcipuè quæ facere videntur ad noticiam inclutorum regum Scotorum; de qua stirpe, quave origine ad istas oras devenerunt; & quoto tempore, & quoto ante Pictos, cum iisdem, & post eos vicissim regnaverunt; & qualiter nunc stirps Scotigena miscetur cum Saxonica, qualiterque Britannica stirpe multigena variatur, & quomodo rex Scociæ modernus de jure debito, debet tam Angliæ quam Scociæ præfici regnis (a).

PRIMA PARS CHRONICI.

CAP. I. *Quo tempore ante incarnationem Christi incepit Scota, a qua Scocia.*

Quisque loqui gaudet validus de sanguine puro
 Quorumdam precibus de Scotis dicere curo :
 Unde sui generis ortus primævus habetur,
 Quorum posteritas trans tempora perpetuetur.
 Quidquid narrabo per cronica scripta (b) probabo
 De veterum gestis: reliquorum sum quia testis
 Scribere nam volui mihi quæ præsentia vidi (c).

Adam primævum non incipiam numerare;
 Quomodo nec dicam Noe cœpit generare.

(a) *Hic interseritur in plerisque Scotichronicis descriptio
 statum mundi.*

(b) *L. prisca. Cod. Pafstat.*

(c) *In cod. Pafstat. adduntur hic sequentes duo versiculi:*

Si verum scribam verum credo fore scribam
 Scripsero si vanum, caput est quasi non mihi sanum.

Hoc

Hoc genus a Japheth ejus nato juniore
 Quamvis descenderat, referam tamen a propiore
 Per quem dicatur stirps hæc, & magnificatur.
 Quingentis mille cum sexaginta monosque,
 Annis ut reperi præcessit tempora Christi
 Agnus sub lege primus mactatus in æde
 Biblia testatur, quod tunc revocare paratur
 Rex Pharao populum fugientem per mare rubrum;
 Cujus rex Pharao mergitur in medio.
 Ex tunc Scotorum describam tempus, & horum
 Progeniem referam per tempora continuatam.

C A P. II. *Gaithelos intulit lapidem.*

Postquam passus erat Pharao miserabile funus
 Nobilis exierat ab Ægypto Schyticus unus
 Exul qui lapidem Pharaonis detulit idem
 Ut liber fatur, Gaithilglas ille vocatur.
 Hic bis undenus fuit a (a) Japheth alienus
 Ut sic credatis dat linea sanguinitatis,
 Naufraga navigio qui plura pericula passus
 Ad terram tandem venit sic (b) equite lussus:
 Sed lapis hunc (c) erexit ipsum qui per mare vexit
 Hic lapis, ut fatur, hæc anchora vitæ vocatur.

(a) In veteri geneslogia regum Scotorum sunt circiter 22 gradus seu generationes inter Japhet & hunc Gaithilglas seu Geythelos. V. Fordun lib. 5. c. 50. In Hybernicis autem tantum quatuor: illi enim more solito veterem genealogiam reformarunt ob rationes supra notatas. pag. 485, &c.

(b) F. Æquore.

(c) Rexit. Cod. Passat.

F f f 4

Cumque

Cumque locum petiit securus ad residendum
 Pluribus hunc annis Hispania cœpit alendum.
 Cujus progenies nimis augmentatur ibidem
 Sicut scriptura testatur condita pridem.

CAP. III. *De eodem lapide (a).*

Post obitum regis Pharaonis mille duobus
 Annis, ut recolo, tunc quidam nomine Milo
 Rex Hispanorum, qui plures (b) magnos habebat
 Natos, illorum tamen unum plus recolebat.
 Scilicet is Simon cognomine Brek fuit unus:
 Cui pater exhibuit quoddam prænobile munus,
 Scilicet hanc Petram Gaizilglas quam tulit e-
 quam (c)

Perque fretum gessit ab Ægypto quando recessit.
 Milo prophetavit nato (qui quem recreavit
 Lætari cœpit hanc Petram quando recepit)
 Quod sua regnaret stirps hanc quocunque locaret.
 Ecce Deo dante; sicut (d) factum fuit ante
 Sic fit in instante: Simon Brek quo mediante
 Sic augmentante, Sobolis partem venientis
 Ad se suscepit Hyberniam: quo residentes
 Annos per multos: horum quos vidit adultos
 Quosdam deduxit validus (e) Lorimonie quidam
 Primus

(a) De rege Milone. C. *Pass.*

(b) Magnus. C. *Pass.*

(c) E. Secum. Nam autor horum versuum numeros vel
 quantitatem parum videtur attendisse.

(d) L. fatum. C. *Pass.*

(e) Lori nomine quidam. C. *Passat.* Sed quisnam fuerit ille
 Lori qui primus deduxit Scotos ad Ergadiam nusquam repiri.
 Additur.

Primus ad Ergadiam : quo tempore concito dicam
Isti sunt ducti : dicuntur postea Scoti.
Nam velut a Githia Geticus, seu Gothia Gotli,
Dicitur a Sithia Sithicus, sic Scotia Scoti,
Quæ prius Albania sic fertur Scotia terra.
Scoti a Scoṭa, de Scotis Scotia nota,
A muliere Scota vocatur Scotia tota.

C A P. IV. *Quot annis rexerunt Picti.*

Quod jam promissi tempus sic ecce relisi
(a) Bis bis centeno quater endeca, sed minus uno
Anno quo sumpsit primos Ergadia Scotos,
Ut referunt isti, fuit incarnatio Christi.
Annorum summa Pictis præoccupatorum
Hic dat Scotorum deca quinque centibinorum
Et annos quindecim, tres menses jungito quidem.
Tunc Scoti quærunť quot anni præterierunt
Postquam vicerunt Pictos qui tunc coluerunt
Albaniam citro Drumalban, sed minus ultra.

Additur tamen ad marginem libri Passaten. alia manu : Lori
fuit tertius a Simone Brek. & alludere videtur ad nomen Logh-
raich quod pronunciatur Loraich. Fuit autem Dusch Lograich
tertius aut quartus in veteri genealogia a Simone Brek.

(a) *Vide quæ superius, p 703. dicta sunt de Usserii inter-*
pretatione horum verborum. Sane ex tota hujus & præcedentis
capituli serie patet per hos versiculos Bis bis centeno, &c.
Autorem censuisse Scotos in Britannia quadringentis quadraginta
tribus annis ante Incarnationem cepisse habitare; sedesque in
hac insula habuisse ante adventum Pictorum, quos & hic auter
& omnes alii scriptores Scoti, ducentis saltem ante natum Cři-
stum annis, in has oras commigrasse sentiant.

Ut

Ut Scoti valeant memoratum tempus habere
 Per Scociam totam quo cœperunt residere.
 Qui Picti terram rexere mille ducentis,
 Et pariter junctis viginti quatuor annis,
 Ut verum renovem, mensibus atque novem.
 Pictis amotis datur hæc responsio Scotis :
 D. Semel & ter C. post X. ter & X. quater inde.
 Istorum numeri monstrant quo tempore Christi,
 Sed trans (a) Dun-Alban cœpit regnare Kenedus
 Filius Alpini Pictorum fraude perempti
 In bello pridem quos Alpin vicerat idem.
 Sed cum septenis Kened regnaverat annis
 Nititur in Pictos ulcisci funera patris,
 Quosdam sternendo bello, (b) quoscunque fugando :
 Ex tunc Albanie regnum totale regebat,
 Quæ prius in parte regni dicta residebat,
 Progenies cujus jus regni nunc tenet hujus.

C A P. V. *Primus rex regnavit in Argadia.*

Ex annis Domini qui continue renovantur
 Apparet per quot annos Scoti dominantur :
 Sic patet in genere de tempore sufficienter ;
 Reges nunc referam qui regnare (c) frequenter.
 In tamen Ergadia vixit per tempora multa
 Hæc gens sub lege naturæ, sed sine rege,
 Donec ad Ergadium tulit audax nomine quidam

(a) L. Drum-albam. C. *Passat.*

(b) L. Quosdamque fugando. *restius cum C. Passat.*

(c) L. Sequenter. i. e. Successive. *restius cum C. Passat.*

(a) Fer

Fergusius (a) lapidem, de quo sit mentio pridem.
Hic primo rexit Scotos, lapidem quia vexit.
Quem Scoti lapidem sanxerunt ponere sedem
Regibus inde suis tantum, sed non alienis (b).

C A P. VI. *De continuatione regum usque ad
Kenethum.*

- R. 1. Primus in Ergadia Fergus (c) rexit tribus
annis:
RR. 2, 3. Post Donegart quinis : Congal quater
oſto bis (d):
RR. 4, 5. Endeca bis Gouren : sed quatuor & deca
Conal :

(a) Hunc fuisse Fergusium filium Erch ex contextu chronici Eri-
jus totaque serie subsequentiū regum sequenti capitulo, manifestū
patet.

(b) In C. Paſlat. Edinb. &c. hic additur versus sequens.

Ut Scona testatur usque huc lapis iste locatur.

(c) In hoc & sequentibus hujus chronici capitulis eadem omni-
no regum nomina, ordo & successio ac in duobus præcedentibus chro-
nicis sive catalogis, quemadmodum & in chronico Wintonii infra
posito, & in catalogo sive chronico Jacobi Gray; nec inter hæc
omnia chronica sive catalogos aliud reperire est alicujus moment;
discrimen præterquam in numeris annorum regni quorundam re-
gum, in quibus frequenter ex more erratur, sive scribæ, sive auctorum
incogitantia aut hallucinatione.

(d) Hic manifesta videtur transpositio numeri annorum regni;
Aidani pro annis regni Congalli, & vicissim. Constat enim apud
omnes Aidanum regnasse annis 34. sive quater oſto & binis
(ut hic habet Cod. Edinburg. collegii) qui hic tribuuntur Cen-
gælo, quem ex aliis plerisque chronicis regnasse constat tantum
24, aut quatuor & deca bis annis, qui hic false tribuuntur Ai-
dano.

RR. 6, 7. Qua-

- RR. 6, 7 Quatuor, & deca bis Edhan (a) x.
vi. Eoghedbod:
- R. 8. Kinath-Ker per tres rexit tantummodo menses:
- R. 9. Sed Ferquarth annos per quatuor & duodenos:
- RR. 10. 11. Bis septem Donald: octo bis Malduin annis:
- RR. 12, 13. Ter septem Fercard: tredecim; sed rexit Eoghed: (b)
- RR. 14, 15. Armkellach uno: sed tred. (c) regnavit Eogan:
- RR. 16, 17. Rex Murdauch trinis: (d) Neogan uno quoque bino:
- RR. 18, 19, 20. Hetsin per deca ter: Fergus tres: (e) sed Sealuanc
- R. 21. Quatuor & deca bis: sed (f) Eogad anuique tricenis:
- RR. 22, 23. Dungal septenis: Alpinus sed tribus annis:
24. Annis septenis Kenedus (g) filius Alpin.

(a) Jam observavimus hunc 24 annorum numerum congruere tantum Congallo.

(b) Eogyn C. Paslat.

(c) L. tredecim.

(d) L. Heogan.

(e) Sealanvan. C. Paslat.

(f) L. Eogad annuique.

(g) Si Kenethus regnum inierit A. D. 836. & septem annis regnaverit super Scotos ante adjunctionem regni Pictici sedecim annis monarchie ipsius super tota Albania capisse oportet A. D. 843. Sed de his aliam.

Hi

Hi cum prædictis regnarunt tempore Piſtis;
 Quod trecentenos quatuor oſtoque continet annos;
 His annis & tres debetis jungere meſes. (a)
Chriſti tranſactis tribus annis atque ducentis (b)
Scotia Catholicam cœpit habere fidem
Roma victore primo papa residente.
 C. quater & deca ter a carne Dei numerabis
 In Scotia quando legem Chriſti renovabis:
 Lex Chriſti colitur banc Palladio renovante
 Primus celeſtinnus Scotiæ quem miſerat ante
 Præcedunt Scoti quingentis Anglicis annis.
 Quamvis & credit ante hos (c) Brutus & obedit.
 (d) Albion in terris rex primus germine Scotus
 Illorum turmis rubri tulit arma leonis
 Fergusius fulvo Ferchardi rugientiis in arvo.
 Chriſtum tercentis ter denis præſuit annis
 Liliſer ille leo roſidus nunc pingitur auro.

C A P. VII. De continuatione regum

R. 24. Et poſtquam Kenede Piſtos omnino fugavit
 Annos oſto bis regnando continuavit:

(a) Hic (ut ſuperius monuimus pag. 677, 678.) inter hoc ad-
 put 6. & 7. in magnis plerisque Scotichronicis ſequens inferitur
 interpolatio ex variis Forduni locis, & aliunde ineptè conſarci-
 nata, ut ſola leſſione manifeſtè pateat hanc additionem non eſſe
 genuinum autoris hujus chronici partem. Hinc in exemplari ge-
 nuino codicis Collegii Scot. Pariſ. non habetur.

(b) Fordun. lib. 2. cap. 35.

(c) i. e. antiqui Britones.

(d) Fordun. lib. 2. cap. 12.

R. 25.

R. 25. Donald Mac-Alpin post rexit quatuor annis

RR. 26, 27, 28. Sed (a) Constantinus: Ed. (b) uno: Greg. (c) duodenis:

RR. 29, 30. Donald undenis: Constantin bis quoque vicenis:

RR. 31, 32. Malcolmus primus, sic Induff quisque novenis:

R. 33. Sed Duff per senos menses & quatuor annos:

RR. 34, 35 Per tantum Culen: sed Kened sex quater annis

R. 36. Mensibus & binis: Constantinusque per annum

R. 37. Et menses senos: tunc Greg (d) octo per annos:

RR. 38, 39. Malcom per deca ter: Duncan sex: sed deca septem

RR. 40, 41. Macbeth: sed (e) Lahoulan per menses quatuor: atque

R. 42. Malcolm Kenremor (f) annos per ter deca septem

R. 43. Et menses octo: cujus frater Donevaldus Annos complevit ternos regnando vicissim;

R. 44. Dum Duncan medio sex menses tempore vixit.

(a) i. e. Sedecim.

(b) Aodh sive Ethus dictus.

(c) Gregorius.

(d) Alias Grim. *Vide indicem sive catalogum nominum.*

(e) Alias Lulach.

(f) Vulgo Malcolm Keamnor.

C A P. VIII. *De-hinc reges Scotorum processerunt de Stirpe tam Saxonum, sive Anglorum, quam Scotorum.*

Tunc stirps Scotigena Saxonum sanguine mixta
Cœpit regnare, quod propono referare
Qualiter hoc esset, ut quivis dicere (a) possit.
De dicto nati Kenremor tres generati
Regnum rexerunt, quod successim tenuerunt :
Quos Margarita peperit regina beata
Hæres Anglorum regum, regina Scotorum.
Ex (b) quo qui dubitat Anglorum cronica quærat :
Per quam (sic) conjugium Scotis præbetur in usum.
Non erat istorum generatio dico (c) duorum
Fratrum primorum : genuit tamen ultimus (d)
horum

Per quem Scotorum generando continuatur (e)
Regia stirps, quorum successio nunc referatur.
R. 45. Annis ter trinis & ternis mensibus Edgar
Primus regnavit de natis quos generavit
Malcolmus cum dicta Margarita beata.
R. 46. Hinc Alexander annis rexit deca septem
Mensibus atque tribus, septimanisque duabus.
Iste secundus erat fratrum : sed tertius extat

(a) F. discere.

(b) F. De quo.

(c) *Silicet* Edgari & Alexandri.

(d) David.

(e) *Hic versus oscitantia scribere deest in Cod. Paris. sed habetur in reliquis Codicibus.*

R. 47.

R. 47. David vicenis regnans annisque novenis;

R. 48. Mensibus & ternis : tunc Malcolm fil. Henri
Annis bis senis & semis regna gerebat ;

Ut (a) rumor gessit hic Malcolm virgo recessit.
At Henricus erat natus regis quoque David,

Quem rex is David ex Matilda generavit :

Hæres qui fuerat Huntindoniæ comitatus,

Cujus sic esset si posset vivere natus :

Qui bello moritur de Cothon ; sed sepelitur

In abbazia nomine Calconia (b).

Hæc Matilda datur de Senlis, quæ tumultatur

In Scona cujus templum bustum tenet hujus.

R. 49. Quadraginta novem Willelmus rex erat annis :

Cujus Willelmi genitor dictus fuit Henri ;

Et pariter comitis de Dunde nomine David :

Tres sibi sorores fuerant : Britan. comitissa

Quæ Margarita Conano conjugii data

Hæc junior datur germana, sed altera vocatur

Nobilis Adissa : fuit hæc Holland comitissa,

Conjugioque datus erat huic de Ross comitatus :

Morte præventam Matildam dic & inuptam.

SECUNDA PARS.

CAP. IX. *De nobili politico Alexandro tertio.*

Hactenus hæc dicta novi per cronica scripta (c)

A modo quæ novi scriptis describere vovi

(a) Ut res se gessit. *Cod. Parmur. &c.*

(b) Abbazia de Calco, vulgo Kelfo

(c) Hactenus continentur quæ auctor ex scriptis sive priscis
chronicis desumpserat. Hic incipit describere quæ vel ipse per se,
vel ex eorum relatione noverat : hinc addendum consuevimus ti-
tulum hæc Secunda pars.

R. 50. Alter Alexander, quem rex Willelmus habebat

Natum, ter denis annis & quinque regebat :

Hic Alexander alium fertur genuisse

Hunc alium ternum pro certo dico fuisse.

R. 51. Ternus Alexander ter denis rex erat annis,

Et septem fere : vœ Scotis qui caruere

Principe tam grato, largo, mitique beato,

Qui quinquagenus regum fuit ordine primus (a).

Hic princeps annos Domini post mille ducentos

Et novem novies, sed quatuor his super addes (b)

Kyngorn non rite persolvit debita vitæ,

Scilicet Aprilis decimo quartoque Kalendas ;

Quo decet exequias celebrari perficiendas (c),

Ne valeant obitum monachi servare sopitum

A quibus incolitur Dunfermlin, sed sepelitur.

Tanti tumba viri studio meliore poliri

Debuit, artificum si funus haberet amicum.

SECUNDA PARS.

(a) Hinc novâ confirmatur probatione sive argumento Fergusius filium Erch primum fuisse regum Scotorum juxta prisca chronica, unde desumpta sunt præcedentia capitula, cum Alexander tertius & in hoc metrico chronico & in aliis omnibus ante editum Ferduni chronicon, quinquagesimus primus rex a prædicto Fergusio numeretur.

(b) i. e. A. D. 1283.

(c) Hinc patet in more positum fuisse olim apud Scotos anniverſarias exequias regum celebrari in ecclesiis saltem ubi sepulti erant.

Post mortis morsum vertit dilectio dorsum (a);
 Finita vita finit (b) amor, & ita
 Corpus prædicti regis sine prole relictum
 Post annos fere septem Scotis (c) (sic) doluere
 Qui regem vere (d) aristis non habuere (e).

C A P. X. *De rege Roberto Brois.*

Andreas festo, Domini post mille ducentos
 Atque decem novies cum binis insimul annis
 Servando morem (f) regis sibi sumpsit honorem;
 R. 52. Quem quinquagenum regum facit ordo secundum :

Dehinc ex toto Johanne rege remoto,
 R. 53. De Brois Robertus regum de stirpe repertus,
 Suscipit in Scona regni Scociæ diadema :
 Hæc in Aprilinas sexto sunt facta Kalendas:
 Promittunt veteres quod erit hic belliger heros,
 Qui sua rura novans regna sudabit ovans ;
 Stragibus immensis sudabit Scoticus ensis ;
 Corruet Angligena per eum gens non sine pœna.
 Hactenus hi toti fuerant ut plebs sua Scoti ;
 Atque Deo dante sic amodo sic velut ante.
 Est totum cœnum cujus caput est alienum
 Sic populus quando fit rex alienus (g).

(a) Quas querelas, quos gemitus edidisset antiquus hic scriptor, omnium nostrorum regum prætorum monumenta non tantum ecclesia de Dunfermlin, sed ubique per totum regnum coram vidisset disiecta subversa, solo æquata, aut etiam effossa !

(b) L. Finitur.

(c) L. Scoti.

(d) L. Tot aristis. Passat.

(e) Hic in Passat. & aliis multa addita.

(f) Intellige Johannem Baild.

(g) Hic etiam nova additamenta in Passat. &c.

C A P. XI. *De Roberto Brois.*

De Brois Robertus regum de stirpe regali
Bis deca rex Scotos regnavit quatuor annis
M, semel & ter C, bis & X novem superadde,
Tunc rex Robertus bonus est de funere certus.
Ante suam mortem genuit similem sibi fortem,
R. 54. Magnanimum David rex Robertus gene-
ravit.

Hic rex regnavit deca terque novem simul annis (a):
Nullum superstes hæredem corpore gignit:
Majora tamen soror ejusdem generavit

R. 55. Galtero Stewart Robertum rite secundum:
Qui regnando decemque novem feliciter annis

R. 56. Regem Robertum generavit denique ternum

R. 57. Hic XVI stetit annis, Jacobum quoque gis-
nit

Primum, qui regit annis deca terque duobus,

R. 58. Et Jacobum nostrum genuit rex iste mo-
dernum

Tempore scripturæ: tunc lector sit tibi curæ

Quod fuit annorum septem decem numerorum (b)

Quem Deus exaltet, regnum regat, atque guber-
net.

(a) Regnavit revera David II. annis 41, mensibus 8, & die-
bus 15.

(b) i. e. A. D. 1447.

NUM. VII.

Extract of the Chronicle of *Andrew Winton*,
Prior of *Lochleven*. See page 621, &c.
& page 620, &c.

Ex Cod. MS. Bibl. Cotton. [Nero, D. xi.] fol. 30.

Fergus Erthstone fra him (a) syne
Down descendand ebin be Lyne
Into ye 5 and 50 gre (b)
As ebin recknand men may sic,
Brought this stane within Scotland (c).
And first it set in Wcolmkil,
And skune pairrefter it wes brought til:
And pairt it wes syn mony a day,
Quhen Edward geit haif it away
King of England, and syne he
Geit it sett in Lundy be.

(a) I. e. *Simon Breac*, who, according to the tradition of the *Scots*, first brought the famous stone from *Spain* to *Ireland*, and placed it there, says *Winton*, as the charter of the kinrik, from this *Simon* to *Fergus* son of *Erc*, there were, according to the old *Scotish* genealogy, about fifty-five degrees or generations.

(b) I. e. Degree.

(c) Furst quhen he came and wan pat land;
Cod. Bibl. Reg. Lond.

Ibidem, fol. 37.

Fergus Erthstone the first man
 Was yat in our land began
 Before yat time (a) yat ye Peythis
 Our kinrik wan fra ye Scottis,
 And syne ye Peythis regnand were
 A thousand ane and sixty yheres ;
 And fra yis Fergus down be lyne
 Descendand ebin was be lyne
 Kenaucht, yat wes aught hundred yhere
 And thre and seurtie passit cleir
 Efter the blest nativite,
 Or regnand he begouth to be

(a) *Winton* supposes here, and all along, that the *Scots* were long settled in *Britain* before the *Picts*. This opinion had taken rise long before upon an emulation with the *Picts* (*v. pag. 526, supra*) and became, by degrees, common among the *Scots*, after the disappearance of the *Picts*, under their own name, by the destruction or dispersion of many of them, and by the incorporation of the rest into one body of people with the *Scots*. And we meet with a *Scotish* writer, in the time of king *James IV*, (*a short chronicle in prose at end of Winton in Biblioth Reg.⁵ Lond.*) who tells us, that *Simon Breac* himself came to *Scotland*; that the *Scots* came into *Britain*, even before *Brutus*; and that at last the *Picts* came in. In short, this writer tells us, that the number of kings of *Scots*, in his time, amounted to *near sax score of kings*. Thus we see the notion of an ancient settlement and monarchy, once it arose, went beyond all bounds.

Ggg 3

far

Fra ye Peythis was put out.
 The tend man without doubt (a)
 Was Kenaucht Malkalpyne
 Fra yis Fergus eben be lyne :
 And swa ther ten should occupy,
 Gif al were reckynit fullely,
 Twelf hundred zheris and weil ma:
 Bot I cannot conlaif it swa :
 Bot yat yis Fergus was regnand
 Within ye kinrick of Scotland
 And yat ten yat regnand were
 Eftir yis Fergus zhere be zhere,
 As yat yat ye Croniklis wate,
 In till number sett ye date,
 Among ge Peythis wes regnand
 Within the kingdom of Scotland,
 And listit in bargain and in weer
 Dubhl Kenaucht rose wich his power.
 Gif oyr of maistr sullisans
 Can synd better accordance
 His buke at likyn yat may mende :
 Bot I now schortlie to mak ende
 Thinkis for to sett yair date,
 As Cronikles befoze me wate, &c.

(a) *Winton* repeats this again (*fol. 43.*) that *Fergus Erthson* was first king of the *Scots*, and that before the entry of the *Picts*; but finding that there were but ten generations betwixt this *Fergus* and *Keneth-mac-Alpin*, which he acknowledges could not take up more than three hundred years, he concludes, at last, that the *Picts* were already settled in *Scotland*, when *Fergus Erthfone* came in; which, he says, he found by other sure authors.

Extract

Extract of *Andrew Winton's* chronicle reviewed by himself, with additions and corrections. *Book IV. chap. 8. (a).*

Ex codice MS. Bibliothecæ Regiæ Londin. See p. 624, *supra*.

TWU hundred winters and fifty (b)
And twa to reckyn our eben likely
Besore ye nativite, &c.

As in our flozie witten is
Pan in Scotland the Scottis
Begouth (c) to reign and to steir
Twa hundred full and fortie þhere
Fife winters and monethis three
Gif yat all suld rekkonit be
Or the Pythis in Scotland
Came in, and in it were dwelland.
And now to thai (d) I turn my style,
Of þair lynage to speke a while:
As in the thirð buke (e) was besore
From Simon brek till Fergus mozt
As as the Scottis lynally
Come down of Krischery,

(a) I have met with this succession of the kings of *Scots* from *Fergus* in none of the other copies of *Winton*.

(b) L. forty. *Cod. Cotton.*

(c) I. e. began.

(d) The *Scots*.

(e) *Winton*, Book III. cap. 9. *Cod. Bibl. Reg. Lond.*

G G 4

Duhar

- Dubaz yeu I left now to begin
 Pair namis here I will tak in
 He yat was callet Fergus more
 In ye third buke ze haid befoze
 K. 1. Was Fergus Erthlon yat thre yhere
 Maid him beyond ye Drum (a) to fleir (b)
 Oure all ye bychtis ebir ilkane
 As pai ly fra Drumalbane
 Till Stanemore (c) and Inchevall
 Kyng he mad hym (d) oure (e) yalm all;
 K. 2. Dongart his swon yheris fyve
 Was tyll his father successybe:
 K. 3. Congal Dongarts swon twentye zheres
 And twa was kyng withouttin weres;
 K. 4. Cowran Dongarts swon allwa
 Regnyt twentie zheris and twa;
 K. 5. Conal nest (f) him Makrongal I
 Forteen zheres held pai landis all;
 Thretty wyntyrs and four yan
 K. 6. Egan regnyd Mak-Cowran:
 K. 7. Broged bwd sex zheris and ten
 Kyng was in pai landis yan:
 K. 8. Kynat ker Mak-colnal
 Thre monethis held pai landis all:

(a) In the margin of the MS. is this note, *Drum Albain*, the back of *Albany*.

(b) To reign.

(c) F. Sluaghmore.

(d) Himself.

(e) Over.

(f) Next.

K. 9. Fercha

K. 9. Ferchaz Packcony sexten zhere
As kyng (a) couth all the landis sterr.

K. 10. Donald-brek son Hucgedbuode
Kyng was fourtene zheres proude (b)
And estir yat his dayls wes downe

K. 11. Maldowyn Dolnald Dopynswon
Sexten winters kyng was hale (c):
And nest tike yat governale

K. 12. Ferchaz fodys lunc, and was yau
Twentie wynteris kyng and ane:

K. 13. Hergede (d) monabele Packdongat
Downad Brekswon after yat
Regnyd twelbe zheris sullelic.
Here I suspend yis genealogy:
Bot I will speke mare parof swine
Quhen all ye (e) laibe till yat is dwne (f).

(a) Could.

(b) Powerful.

(c) Sixteen years whole.

(d) Eochod-rinavel.

(e) The rest.

(f) The names of the following kings are intermixed with Winton's chronicle, and in all the ordinary copies; so it were useless to set them down here.

N U M. VIII.

INSTRUMENTUM (a) PUBLICUM, CONTINENS
COPIAM ET EXEMPLAR DE VERBO IN
VERBUM QUARUNDAM LITERARUM ED-
WARDI REGIS ANGLIE SUPER RENUNCI-
ATIONE ET QUIETA CLAMATIONE OM-
NIUM OBLIGATIONUM, JURIUM, PACTO-
RUM ET CONVENTORUM FACTORUM INTER
REGES SCOTIE ET ANGLIE, AUT SUORUM
REGNORUM STATUS, SUPER SUBJECTIONE
ET JURISCLAMIO REGIS SCOTIE ET
IPSIUS REGNI. *Et res est bene notanda (b).*

Ex ipso autentico instrumento in collegio Scotorum Parisiensi.
Vide Præfationem, num. xiv. supra.

UNIVERSIS sancte matris ecclesie filiis,
ad quorum notitiam presentes litere perve-
nerint, *Henricus (c)* misericordia divina episcopus
sancti Andree salutem in Domino sempiternam. No-

(a) Hoc instrumentum servabatur olim in archivo sive tabulario
ecclesie metropolitanae Glasguensis; inde ereptum (dum universa
ecclesiarum regni tabularia, pretextu religionis, confagrarent)
a Jacobo Beaton archiepiscopo cum aliis ecclesie sue chartis & in-
strumentis in Gallias deportatum est.

(b) Hæc nota alia manu additur titulo ut majori cura servaretur
hoc instrumentum.

(c) *Henricus de Wardlaw.*

verit

Verit universitas vestra, quod nuper coram nobis
Pro tribunali sedentibus in capella juxta magnum
Pontem burgi de Perth nostre dioceseos, constitutus
 reverendus in Christo pater dominus (a) **Gilber-**
tus, Dei gracia, episcopus Abirdonensis, cancella-
 rius Scocie, nomine, & ex parte trium statuum regni
 Scocie tunc congregatorum & consilium generale
 facientium in domo fratrum Predicatorum dicti
 burgi, quasdam literas recolende memorie domi-
 ni Edwardi, Dei gracia, regis Anglie, principis
 quondam inclitissimi produxit, nobisque exhibuit
 & ostendit; quarum tenores de verbo ad verbum
 inferius describuntur. Quas quidem literas idem
 dominus episcopus & cancellarius transcribi petiit,
 & exemplari ac in publicam & attenticam formam
 ad futuram rei memoriam redigi auctoritate no-
 stra ordinaria, cum interpositione decreti, ne prop-
 ter defectum probacionis eorum, que in ipsis lite-
 ris continentur, dominus noster rex Scocie, qui
 pro tempore fuerit ac regnum & regnicole quovis-
 modo inquietari vel perturbari valerent ipsis lit-
 teris originalibus perditis vel destructis. Nos igitur
 volentes probacionibus subvenire, ne veritate
 occultata justitia deperiret, visis, lectis, & diligen-
 ter inspectis litteris ipsis in nostra presentia, de
 verbo ad verbum, per notarios publicos infra scrip-
 tos, nobis veris absque suspicione reputatis, & cum
 originalibus examinatis, & sigillis in iisdem appen-
 sis integris, &, ut bene apparuit, veris. Ipsius

(a) *Gilbertus de Greylaw.*

domini

domini episcopi & cancellarii petitioni, utpote rationabili, annuentes prefatas litteras transcribi & exemplari mandavimus & fecimus per notarios publicos infrascriptos, tenore presentium decernentes quod transcripto hujusmodi sive exemplationi deinceps per omnia plena fides adhibeatur, tam in judiciis quam extra, sicut originalibus litteris prelibatis: quibus omnibus & singulis nostram authoritatem interponimus & decretum. Tenores ipsarum literarum tales sunt. *UNIVERSIS presentes litteras inspecturis, Edwardus, Dei gracia, rex Anglie, dominus Hybernie, & Dux Aquitanie, salutem in domino sempiternam. Cum nos, nonnullique predecessores nostri, reges Anglie, jura regiminis domini, seu superioritatis regni Scocie conati fuimus obtinere, ob hocque motarum dira guerrarum discrimina Anglie & Scocie regna diutius afflixissent, nos attendentes cedes, occisiones, scelera, ecclesiarum destructiones, & mala innumerabilia, que hujusmodi occasione guerrarum regnicolis utriusque regni multipliciter contingebant, bonaque quibus regnum utrumque mutuis compendiis habundaret, perpetue pacis stabilitate connexum, ac per hoc contra conatus noxios rebellare vel impugnare volentium interius vel exterius majori firmitate securum, volumus, & concedimus, per presentes, pro nobis, heredibus, & successoribus nostris, quibuscunque, de communi consilio, assensu, & consensu prelatorum & procerum, comitum & baronum, ac communitatum regni nostri in parlamento nostro, quod regnum Scocie per suas rectas marchias prout temporibus bone memorie Alexandri*

APPENDIX.

regis Scocie ultimò defuncti fuerunt *habite & ser-*
Dei gracia;
 e magnifico principi domino Roberto, amico nostro
 gi Scotorum, illustri confederato ac amico nostro
 arissimo, suisque heredibus & successoribus *divisum*
 in omnibus a regno Anglie integrum, liberum &
 quietum remaneat in perpetuum, absque qualicunque
 subjectione, servitute, clameo vel demanda. *Et si*
 quod jus nos, vel antecessores nostri, in regno Scocie
 retroactis temporibus petierimus, vel petierint quo-
 quomodo, prefato regi Scocie, heredibus & successo-
 ribus suis, renunciamus, & dimittimus, per *presen-*
 itas, vel inita qualitercunque cum nostris *predeces-*
 soribus quibuscunque, quibuscunque temporibus, *super*
 subjectione regni Scocie, vel incolarum ejusdem, *per*
 quoscunque reges vel incolas clericos, vel laicos ipsius
 regni Scocie, pro nobis, heredibus & successoribus *no-*
 stris, remittimus penitus & omnino. *Et si que lit-*
 tere, carte, munimenta vel instrumenta, reperiantur
 de cetero ubicunque super hujusmodi obligationibus,
 convencionibus & pactis confecta vel confecta, pro
 cassis, irritis, inanibus & vacuis habeantur, nullius-
 que valoris esse volumus vel momenti. *Et ad pre-*
 missa omnia plene, pacifice & fideliter perpetuis tem-
 poribus observanda, dilectis & fidelibus nostris Hen-
 rico de Percy consanguineo nostro, & Wilhelmo la
 Zousch de Assheby, & eorum alteri, ad sacra-
 mentum in animam nostram inde prestandum, per alias
 literas nostras patentes, plenam dedimus potestatem
 ac mandatum speciale: in cujus rei testimonium, be-
 literas nostras fieri fecimus patentes. *Datum apud*
Edinburgam

Ebor. primo die Martii, anno regni nostri secundo :
PER IPSUM REGEM ET CONSILIUM IN PARLIAMENTO. Item; Edwardus, Dei gracia, rex Anglie, dominus Hybernie, & dux Aquitanie, dilectis ac fidelibus suis Henrico de Percy, & Willelmo de la Zouche de Asheby salutem. Cum per cartam, sive litteras nostras patentes, concesserimus magnifico principi Roberto, Dei gracia, regi Scotorum, quod habeat regnum Scocie per suas rectas marchias, prout temporibus bone memorie Alexandri regis Scocie ultimo defuncti fuerunt habite & servate; & jus, si quod nos, vel antecessores nostri in regno Scocie retroactis temporibus petierimus, vel petierint quomodo eidem domino regi Scotorum renunciaverimus. Nos de fidelitate vestra & circumspectione provida plenius confidentes, ad firmandum & vallandum omnia & singula in dictis carta sive litteris contenta per juramentum in animam nostram prestandum, vobis & alteri vestrum tenore presentium, committimus potestatem ac speciale mandatum. Et hoc omnibus, & singulis, quorum interest, vel interesse poterit, innotescimus per presentes litteras nostras patentes sigilli nostri munimine roboratas. Datum apud Ebor. primo die Martii, anno regni nostri secundo: **PER IPSUM REGEM ET CONSILIUM IN PARLIAMENTO.** Sigillabantur autem dicte litere sigillo magno & rotundo de cera alba, in cujus una parte erat forma cathedre in qua erat ymago regis sedentis, induti quasi regalibus vestibus, cum corona in capite, & sceptro in manu dextra, & ex utraque parte cathedre flos lilii; & in circumferentia

rentia scriptum erat litteris legibilibus. EDWARDUS, DEI GRACIA, REX ANGLIE, DOMINUS HYBERNIE, DUX ACQUITANIE. Ex altera autem parte sigilli erat ymago regis armati sedentis super equum, gladium ferentis evaginatum elevatum in manu dextra, & super humerum sinistrum erat scutum in quo erant tres ymagine leopardi gradientis; & in circumferentia erat scriptum litteris legibilibus: EDWARDUS, DEI GRACIA, REX ANGLIE, DOMINUS HYBERNIE, DUX ACQUITANIE. In quorum omnium & singulorum testimonium presentes litteras, sive presens publicum instrumentum, per notarios publicos infra-scriptos scribi & publicari mandavimus, nostrique sigilli fecimus appensione muniri. Datum & actum in capella supradicta, sub anno Domini millesimo quadringentesimo quintodecimo, mensis Martii die decima septima, indictione nona, pontificatus sanctissimi in Christo patris ac domini nostri domini Benedicti divina providentia pape XIII. anno vicesimo secundo, presentibus reverendis in Christo patribus & dominis dominis Willelmo Glasguensi, Henrico Moraviensi, Waltero Brechinensi, Thoma Candide-Cafe, Fynlao Dunblanensi, Alexandro Rossensi, & Alexandro Cathinensi, Dei gracia, episcopis; Willelmo de Dumfermylne, Waltero de *Abirbrothok*, Joanne de *Balmurinach*, Willelmo de *Kinlossie*, Joanne de *Culros*, & Patrio de *Cambuskyneth*, Dei gracia, Abbatibus, cum multis aliis testibus ad premissam publicationem viden-

videndam & audiendam vocatis specialiter & rogatis.

ET ego Ricardus de *Crag*, presbyter Sancti-Andree dioces. publicus imperiali authoritate notarius de mandato dicti domini mei episcopi Sancti-Andree, & ipso auctoritatem prestante, dictum instrumentum in publicam formam redegei, manu propria totum scripsi, nihil addito vel diminuto quod sensum mutet vel vitiet intellectum, & in presentia iudicis & testium, cum magistris Patricio de *Huysson* canonico Glasguensi, Ricardo *Knyth* rectore ecclesie de *Conneth*, & domino Waltero *Ra* rectore ecclesie de *Garvalde* notariis publicis, diligenter & fideliter cum ipso attentico ascul-tavi, & ipsas originales litteras vidi, & testibus ostendi, & perlegi, non vitiatas, non cancellatas, nec in aliqua sui parte abollitas seu suspectas neque in castâ, neque in scriptura, neque in sigillo; premissisque omnibus aliis, & singulis, dum sic ut premittitur fierent & agerentur presens fui, & ideo hic me subscripsi, signumque meum solitum apposui, rogatus & requisitus in fidem & testimonium omnium premissorum (a).

ET ego Ricardus *Militis*, clericus Sancti-Andree dioces. publicus imperiali auctoritate no-

(a) *Signum Notar.*

tarius,

tarius, premissis omnibus & singulis, dum sic ut premittitur coram prefato domino meo episcopo Sancti-Andree fierent & agerentur, una cum prenomatis testibus, presens interfui, eaque sic fieri vidi & audiui, & cum subscriptis notariis in notam recepi, & presens publicum instrumentum aliena manu scriptum de mandato dicti domini episcopi *similiter* publicavi, illudque una cum appensione sigilli dicti reverendi patris, signo & subscriptione meis solitis & consuetis signavi in testimonium premissorum requisitus & rogatus (a).

Et ego Robertus de *Ferny*, clericus Sancti-Andree diocesi. publicus auctoritate apostolica & imperiali notarius, omnibus & singulis superscriptis, dum sic ut premittitur & coram prelibato domino episcopo Sancti-Andree fierent & agerentur, una cum subscriptis testibus presens interfui, eaque ut prefertur sic fieri vidi & audiui, una cum subscriptis notariis, presens publicum instrumentum aliena manu superscriptum de mandato prefati domini episcopi publicavi, ac signo meo solito & consueto, una cum sigilli predicti reverendi in christo patris munimine signavi: ideo me hic manu propria subscripsi, rogatus & requisitus coram testibus notariisque supradictis in testimonium veritatis omnium & singulorum premissorum (b):

(a) *Sign. Notar.*

(b) *Sign. Notar.*

H h h

Huius

*Huic instrumento appensum est sigillum
magnum Henrici de Wardelau episco-
pi S. Andree.*

ADDITION.

The printer wanting matter to fill up this sheet, I thought nothing could be more proper than some authentick pieces that I have quoted, and referred to in this essay, upon occasion of the rebellion against king James III. and of his murther ensued upon it (a). The first is the act of The Proposition of the Debate of the Field of Striveling, which is the first precedent of any act made in Scotland, to justify the rising in arms against the sovereign, and which hath ever since been referred to by all those that have imitated the example of the authors of it. The second is a Bull of pope Innocent VIII. (b) granted at the instant supplication of those that had any hand in that rebellion, empowering the abbots of Paisly and Jedword to absolve them from that crime, and from the excommunication they had incurred by it, upon their hearty repentance, and promise to do, for expiation of it, whatever penance should be enjoined them. Both these acts are quoted and referred to in the relation of this tragedy, and serve to give light to the subject.

(a) V. p. 253, & p. 279, &c. *supra*.

(b) V. p. 280, *supra*.

NUM. IX.

*The Proposition of the Debate of the Field
of Striveling.*

From the A^Qs of Parliament, commonly called the *Black
A^Qs*, printed by Lekprevik, fol. 82.

Parl. K. James the 1st. 6 Octob. 1488, cap. 14.

THIS, in y^rs present parliament our sove-
berane lord beand present together with his
thre essaitis of the realme, was proponit
the debait and cause of the field of Striveling, in
the quhilk unquhile James king of Scotland, quhom
God assolize, father to our soveraine lord happenit
to be slane, and the cause and occasion thair of
commonit, openit and arguit among the lordis of
the thre essaits, John lord Glamis presentit and
schew certane articlis subscribit with the said un-
quhile K. James hand, the tenor of the quhilk fol-
lowis, &c. The quhilkis beand read and schawit
that the said articlis was diverse timis grantit to,
and biokin be perberst counsal of diverse personis
beand with him for the tyne: quhich counsalit and
assistit him in the subzinging of Englishmen, and
to the perpetual subjection of the realme, and un-
der defeat and colour maid and refusit, and that
our soveraign lord that now is ever consentit for
the gude of the realme and the profit thair of. (For
the quhilk the earl of Huntlie, the earl of Errol,
the earl Marshal, the lord Glamis, and utheris di-
verse barons, and utheris the kyngis true liegis

Hhh 2

lfff

left him, and his defaultfull and perberse counsale, and adherit to our soberan lord that now is, and his true opinion for the common gude of the realme) the quhilk mater being shawin examinat and communit, and understanding be the thre estatiss and haill bodie of the parliament, they rypplie abillit, declarit and concludit, and in thair lauteis and allegaunce ilk ane for himself, declarit and concludit: that the slaughter done and committit in the field of Striviling, quhair our soberan lordis father happenit to be slane, and utheris divers his baronis and liegis, was alluterlie in their default, and culourit dissait done be him and his perberst counsale diverse tymes befor the said field: and that our soberan lord that now is, and the trew lordis and baronis that wes with him in the samin field, war innocent, free, and quyte of the said slaughters done in the said field, and all pursute of the occasion and cause of the samin: and that part of the three estatiss foresaidis, prelatis, bishopis, great baronis, burgesis, gaff thair seillis hereupon, together with our soberan lordis greit seill, to be shawin and product to our V. Father the pape, the kingis of France, Hispanzie, Denmark, and uther realmis, as sall be sene expedient for the tyme.

NUM. X.

NUM. X.

Rescriptum Innocentii papæ VIII. quo facultatem impertit absolvendi eos qui in Jacobum regem III. insurrexerant & de perpetrato crimine ab intimis se dolere protestabantur, &c.

Ex Collect. C. de Parmure.

INNOCENTIUS episcopus servus servorum Dei dilectis filiis de Passeio & de Iedworth Glasgwen. diocesi. monasteriorum abbatibus & cancellario ecclesiæ Glasguensis salutem & apostolicam Benedictionem. Exuberans apostolicæ sedis clementia recurrentium ad eam post excessum cum humilitate personarum statui libenter consilere, eisque se propitiam exhibere consuevit atque benignam. Exhibita siquidem nobis nuper pro parte nonnullorum regnicolarum regni Scotiæ petitio continebat, quod olim, postquam per nos intellecto quod nonnulli domini tam spirituales quam temporales dicti regni adversus claræ memoriæ Jacobum tertium ipsius regni regem, illiusque statum insurgere, imo & regem ipsum a dicti regni regimine expellere intendebant & moliebantur: nosque per quasdam literas nostras, nonnullas sententias, censuras & pœnas ecclesiasticas, etiam privationis dignitatum & beneficiorum ecclesiasticorum; necnon ad illa inhabilitationis, contra ipsum regem insurgentes, & eorundem insurgentium fautores promulgaveramus: quæ post modum in partibus illis promulgatæ fuerunt, nonnulli regnicolæ ejusdem regni

regni carissimo in Christo filio nostro Jacobo quarto ejus filio moderno regi, tunc principi Scotiæ, qui pro salute & utilitate defuncti regis & regni prædictorum, statum & consilium ipsius regis reformare, & quosdam regis prædicti consiliarios vi & potentia expellere deliberaverunt, adhæserunt, & illius fautores extiterunt: ac pro parte tam defuncti quam moderni regum prædictorum, exercitus parati fuissent & inter se manus conseruissent, præfatus rex defunctus in conflictu cum diversis aliis personis occubuit, nonnullis ex præfatis exponentibus in dicto conflictu præsentibus; & alias aliquotiens ipsi regnicolæ qui prætextu duntaxat dicti conflictus contra ipsum regem defunctum insurrexerant. Unde tam præsentibus quam absentes adhærentes, & alias contra dictum regem defunctum insurgentes præfati, dubitant sententias, censuras, & pœnas incurrisse. Cum autem, sicut eadem petitio subjungebat, *Exponentes præfati de præmissis ab intimis doleant, cupiantque pro commissis pœnitentiam agere salutarem*, pro parte ipsorum nobis fuit humiliter supplicatum, ut ipsos a sententiis, censuris, & pœnis præfatis in ipsis litteris nostris quomodolibet contentis absolvere, ac alias ipsis & eorum statui in præmissis opportunè providere de benignitate apostolica dignaremur. Nos igitur attendentes quod præfatæ sedis clementia ad eam recurrentibus post excessum cum humilitate personis, suæ pietatis gremium favorabiliter aperire consuevit, ac volentes prædictos, apud nos alias de probitatis & virtutum meritis commendatos, horum intuitu favo-
ribus

ribus prosequi gratiosis, eorum in hac parte supplicationibus inclinati, discretioni vestræ per apostolica scripta committimus & mandamus quatenus vos, duo, vel unus vestrum omnes & singulos qui in dicto conflictu interfuerunt, ac absentes qui illis adhaeserunt, & auxilium, consilium assensum & favorem verbo vel facto quoquomodo præstiterunt, nec non qui alias quam prætextu duntaxat dicti conflictus contra ipsum regem defunctum insurrexerunt, & contra dictas nostras litteras quovismodo devenerunt, ac si eorum nomina & cognomina præsentibus infererentur, si hæc humiliter petierint, ab omnibus & singulis censuris & pœnis in dictis nostris litteris quomodo libet contentis, & per eos præmissorum occasione qualitercunque & quotiescunque incurfis, quas ac si litteræ prædictæ de verbo ad verbum insertæ forent præsentibus habere volumus pro expressis, auctoritate nostra hac vice duntaxat absolvatis in forma ecclesiæ consueta, injunctis ipsis & eorum cuilibet, pro modo culpæ pœnitentia salutari, & aliis quæ de jure fuerint injugenda; eosque & eorum singulos unitati sanctæ matris ecclesiæ, & sacramentorum ecclesiasticorum participationi, communionique fidelium, eadem auctoritate restituatis. Non obstantibus præmissis, ac constitutionibus & ordinationibus apostolicis, cæterisque contrariis quibuscunque. Datum Romæ apud S. Petrum anno incarnationis Dominicæ millesimo quadringentesimo nonagesimo primo 5^{to} kalend. Julii pontificatus nostri anno septimo.

F I N I S.

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